

TRADE AND ECONOMIC CHANGE ON THE GOLD COAST 1807-1874

THESIS SUBMITTED

FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

EDWARD REYNOLDS

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES

1971



ProQuest Number: 11010435

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 11010435

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

By the beginning of the nineteenth century the Atlantic slave trade had already made inroads into the traditional subsistence economy of the Gold Coast and elements of a modern economy had begun to emerge; but the interdiction of this trade in 1807 rendered the bulk of the existing commerce illegal. Consequently, other products had to be found by stimulating the export of old staples like gold and ivory and by encouraging the cultivation of agricultural produce in exchange for European goods. This meant a process of commercial and economic change, but wars often interrupted this evolution.

The peace and security the country enjoyed between 1830 and 1850, social and cultural changes effected by Christianity and education, and increased opportunities for entering trade made these decades a key period of economic change. By 1850 this transformation has led to the rise of a class of African merchants who were sensitive to new commercial opportunities and who had the ability and initiative to exploit new avenues of trade. As these African merchants attained more wealth and influence, they began to assume a position and acquire a power that had once been occupied and held by the traditional rulers, whose social and economic position had been declining since abolition.

Conflicts in the wake of the Asante invasion of the coast in 1863 and wars in the Volta area affected the country and the trade and commercial operations of the African merchants. This, and the prevailing system of credit led to a number of bankruptcies and to the ruin of many indigenous traders.

Although the economy grew, diversified, and made considerable progress towards a modern economy during this period, the formal declaration of the Gold Coast as a Protectorate in 1874 paved the way for a more complete integration of the country's trade into the modern world economy and marked the decline of African initiative in trading enterprises as well as the emergence of a foreign dominated oligopolistic regime.

This crucial period of trade and economic change between 1807 and 1874 is an important transitional era that links the economy of the Gold Coast based on slaves with that of the modern based on natural produce.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am happy to thank those who have been of assistance in writing this thesis. My indebtedness to a dedicated scholar, teacher and advisor, Mr. Douglas H. Jones, merits a word of deepest appreciation as this work could not have been written without his expert supervision. I offer him my cordial thanks for suggesting the topic, giving advice, and making valuable critical remarks and suggestions that have had a bearing on every part of the thesis. I am much obliged to Dr. Richard Rathbone for friendly advice and perceptive comments which have clarified my views on many points. I owe a debt of thanks to Mr. Ole Justesen of the University of Copenhagen for helping me put into better perspective the activities of the Danes on the Gold Coast.

I am glad to acknowledge the libraries, archives and people who have been helpful in gathering material for this work. My thanks are due to the staff of the following libraries and archives: The Public Records Office, The British Museum, The International African Institute, The Royal Commonwealth Society, The Foreign and Commonwealth Library, The Institute of Historical Research, The School of Oriental and African Studies, The Ghana National Archives,

The Balme Library at Legon, The Rigsarchiv in Denmark, and the Basel Mission Archives in Switzerland. I am much indebted to the Rev. H. J. Keteku for allowing me to share his firsthand knowledge about the history and activities of the Basel Mission. I am also very grateful to the Rev. E. T. Koramoa who has shared with me his unrivaled knowledge and private collection of Basel Mission activities. For allowing me to read drafts of their own work, I am obliged to Kwame Arhin of the University of Ghana and Harvey Feinberg of Southern Connecticut State, U.S.A. Two of my colleagues at the School of Oriental and African Studies, Ray Kea and John Miles have also been helpful in sharing the knowledge of their research with me.

Nor must I forget to mention ~~the~~ support of my family. The meagre earnings of my mother and grandmother from hawking textiles paid for my early education. The encouragement of my wife Kay Miner has been invaluable for the writing of this thesis. Her enthusiasm and support for this work make it spiritually hers as well as mine.

CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
I TRADE AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.....	12
II ABOLITION, AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1807-1828.....	103
III "LEGITIMATE" TRADE AND ECONOMIC CHANGE, 1828-1850.....	201
IV THE AGE OF AFRICAN MERCHANTS, 1850-1863.....	273
V CONFLICTS AND PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1863-1874.....	348
VI ON THE THRESHOLD OF A MODERN ECONOMY.....	421
APPENDIXES.....	441
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	450

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS IN THE FOOTNOTES

A.H.S.	African Historical Studies
A.M.V.K.	Archief van het Ministerie Kolonien, The Hague
A.R.A.	Alegemeen Rijks Archief
B.G.G.A.	Bulletin of Ghana Geographical Association
B.T.	Board of Trade Series, Public Record Office, London
B.M.A.	Basel Mission Archives, Switzerland
C.O.	Colonial Office, Public Record Office, London
E.B.G.	Economic Bulletin of Ghana
E.D.M.	Elder Dempster Magazine
E.H.R.	Economic History Review
F.C.	Furley Collection, Balme Library, Legon
G.C.R.	Gold Coast Review
G.N.A.	Ghana National Archives
G.N.Q.	Ghana Notes and Queries
G.J.	Guineisk Journaler, Copenhagen
G.J.S.	Ghana Journal of Sociology
G.T.	Geografisk Tidsskrift
Gtk.	Generaltolkammer og Kommerce - Kollegiets Arkiv, Copenhagen
I.A.S.R.R.	Institute of African Studies University of Ghana Research Review
I.F.A.N.	Bulletin de L'Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noir
I.S.S.J.	International Social Science Journal
J.A.H.	Journal of African History
J.A.I.	Journal of the Anthropological Institute
J.A.S.	Journal of African Society
J.E.H.	Journal of Economic History
J.S.A.	Journal of Society of Arts
J.S.S.	Journal of the Statistical Society
M.M.	Missim Magazin
M.M.A.	Methodist Missionary Archives, London
P.P.	Parliamentary Papers
P.S.Q.	Political Science Quarterly
T.	Treasury, Public Records Office
T.G.C.T.H.S.	Transactions of the Gold Coast and Togoland Historical Society
T.H.S.G.	Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana
T.H.S.N.	Transactions of the Historical Society of Nigeria
V.G.R.	Vestindisk-guineisk Rente-og Generaltoldkammer

INTRODUCTION

The complaint that West African economic history is a neglected subject has become a banality but until recently studies dealing with the history of economic development in West Africa were rare except for those by Allan McPhee,¹ W. K. Hancock,² and L. C. A. Knowles³--to mention some of the better known. These works were mainly based on secondary sources and written with a colonial bias. Since the middle of the 1960's, however, increasing attention is being paid to the subject.⁴

In the main the bulk of the work on African economics has been done by anthropologists who have often viewed these complex patterns of development in terms of rigid

1. The Economic Revolution in British West Africa (London, 1926).

2. Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, 2 vols. (London, 1942).

3. The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire, 2 vols. (London, 1928).

4. A. G. Hopkins is probably the leading scholar in West African economic history. Among his studies are: "An Economic History of Lagos, 1880-1914." (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1964); "Economic Imperialism in West Africa; 1880-1892," E.H.R., XXI (1968) and "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, 1918-1939," J.A.H. VII, 2 (1966). Other valuable works include Claude Meillassoux, (ed.) The Development of African Trade and Markets in West Africa (London, forthcoming) and Colin W. Newbury, "Trade and Authority in West Africa from 1850 to 1880" in L. H. Gann and P. Duigan, Colonialism in Africa 1870-1960, the History of Colonialism 1870-1914 (Cambridge, 1969).

and often static models; thus the categories like non-markets, peripheral markets, and markets; primitive, peasant, and modern economies; gift exchange, barter, and money economy.⁵ A further problem in using these models for African economies is that they are so often based on studies of small units in Melanesia and are thus somewhat misleading when applied to the African continent.

There is no dearth of literature on the economic history limited to the late nineteenth century Gold Coast. H. J. Bevin has surveyed the period just before the era of the onset of the rapid economic development of the country.⁶ The period 1874-1905 is examined in R. Dumett's thesis which is mainly concerned with the official British attitudes towards the economic development on the Gold Coast. This work contains excellent sections on gold mining activities

5. See Paul Bohannon and George Dalton (eds.), Markets in Africa (Evanston, 1963); John Paden and E. W. Soga (eds.), The African Experience (Evanston, 1970). Two scholars who have recently criticized this tendency to paint a static picture of African economics are David Cohen, "Agenda for African Economic History," J.E.H. XXXI, 1 (1971) 208-221, and Ralph A. Austen, "The Abolition of the Overseas Slave Trade a Distorted Theme in West African History," J.H.S.N. V, 2 (1970), 268.

6. H. J. Bevin, "The Gold Coast Economy about 1880," T.G.C.T.H.S. II, pt. 2 (1956), 73-86.

and the rubber trade.⁷ Dumett has also covered the rubber trade in a recent article.⁸ Robert Szereszewski has studied the period 1891-1922 emphasizing the rapid changes in the structure of the economy that took place in the 1890's.⁹ There are also the two pioneering studies of Polly Hill on cocoa. Her earlier book¹⁰ deals with the labour systems that are employed in the Ghanaian cocoa industry while her other work¹¹ treats the fascinating process of the movement of Akuapem farmers into Akyem to purchase land for the cultivation of cocoa. The only serious attempt to look at the pre-colonial economy is a recent article by Stephen Hyman.¹² Hyman argues that an

7. R. E. Dumett, "British Official Attitudes in Relation to Economic Development in the Gold Coast, 1874-1905," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, London University, 1966).

8. See R. E. Dumett, "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century: African Innovation and Responsiveness," J.A.H. XII, 1 (1971), 79-101.

9. R. Szereszewski, Structural Changes in the Economy of Ghana 1891-1911 (London, 1966).

10. Polly Hill, The Gold Coast Cocoa Farmer: A Preliminary Survey (London, 1956).

11. Polly Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana (Cambridge, 1963).

12. Stephen Hyman, "Economic Forms in Pre-Colonial Ghana," J.E.H. XXX, 1 (1970), 33-50; A useful summary which despite its title covers aspects of Asante trade during the 18th and 19th centuries is K. Boaten, "Trade among the Asante of Ghana up to the End of the 18th Century," I.A.S.R.R. VII, 1 (1970), 33-46.

egalitarian land tenure system on the Gold Coast which prevented the rise of a land-owning class and the appropriation of economic surplus led to an economy characterized by a low level of production, specialization, and exchange. He suggests that the long distance trade associated with the Western Sudan increased consumption possibilities and led to the emergence of a new class and a greater degree of income inequality by allowing a small group to appropriate a surplus for its own benefit. Yet this welcome study suffers from being too general and not taking sufficient account of the complicated factors of economic growth.

Theodore Morgan who has criticized Hyman's article writes:

One could instead emphasize among the causes of economic growth the level of health and energy of the population; the extent to which wide numbers of the population have incentives and opportunities to work productively and to raise their skills; the organization capacity, administrative efficiency, and willingness to shoulder risks present in the population; the resources-to-labor ration; the extent to which values are oriented toward economic goals; and more generally the extent of mass participation in activities conducive to economic growth. A vision of the growth process as this would lead to quite a different interpretation of Ghanaian economic history.¹³

The concentration and the attention of economic historians on the period of rapid economic growth that has

13. Theodore Morgan, "Economic Forms in Pre-Colonial Ghana" J.E.H. XXX, 2 (1970), 444-445.

been described as a "revolution"¹⁴ is in the main just, but the period of transition from the sale of slaves to the sale of natural products on the Gold Coast calls for serious study.¹⁵ The neglect of this period is all the more regrettable when people who have studied the period of "economic revolution" tend to regard the years before that era as static. "The main features of the economy--till the last decades of the nineteenth century, and more specifically till our period of enquiry (1891)--were essentially static," writes Robert Szereszewski.¹⁶

The present study on trade and economic change on the Gold Coast from 1807 to 1874 is an attempt to examine the period of transition between the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade to 1874 when commercial operations based on the sale of natural produce replaced that based on the sale of slaves. The study embraces the process of economic change and growth, and the social, cultural, and

14. See McPhee, Economic Revolution.

15. A study that deals with the transitional period from slaves to palm oil trading in another area of West Africa is K. O. Dike, Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta (Oxford, 1956). A general study on the transitional period in relation to trade and political power is Patrick Manning, "Slaves, Palm Oil, and Political Power on the West African Coast," A.H.S., II, 2 (1969), 279-288. See also David A. Ross, "The Career of Domingo Martinez in the Bight of Benin," J.A.H., VI, 1 (1965), 79-90; C. W. Newbury, The Western Slave Coast and Its Rulers (Oxford, 1961).

16. Szereszewski, Structural Changes, 5.

political changes that were involved. Economic change is used here not merely to connote the trade and economic process of development that was to lead to "economic revolution" in the last decade of the nineteenth century, but also to describe a wider process. Implied in the term as used here are the changes in economic roles and relations, institutional organization, and ideological adjustments of the traditional economy to a new commercial order. Although the term 'Gold Coast' in this work covers most of the present day Ghana, it is used flexibly. On the coast it covers the littoral stretching from Apollonia to Keta which was then occupied by the British, the Dutch, and the Danes who were the European powers on the Gold Coast at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Although in the strict sense, the term Gold Coast in this period comprises only the states South of the River Pra, Asante has to be taken into account in as much as it was an inseparable part of all aspects of life on the Gold Coast--militarily and economically Asante dominated her southern neighbours. The Asante hinterland is excluded here, except in so far as it impinges upon this study.

In examining the process of commercial and economic change during the period of transition that ushered the Gold Coast into the modern economy, the relevant books and

documents pertaining to the country's history have been consulted in London, Ghana, Basel, and Copenhagen. Even though I have not consulted the Dutch records at the Hague, I have made extensive use of the transcripts of these documents available in the Furley Collections at the Balme Library of the University of Ghana.

As far as the available trade statistical data permit the relevant figures have been used. This information is not completely reliable, but it is very doubtful that more trustworthy information can be assembled. Though incomplete and not wholly reliable the figures are valuable and together with dispatches and reports do throw light on Gold Coast economic history during this period. The trade statistics are employed to indicate the trend of developments rather than to show the precise quantification of trade at any particular date.

The figures used in the text which represent declared or "real" value are those from the original correspondence, Blue Books, Colonial Statistical Tables 1833-1913 (C.O. 442 Series) and the Parliamentary Papers. The data from these sources seem to be in general agreement except for occasional variations in the Parliamentary Papers. The trade figures from the Customs 4 and 10 Series of the Public Records Office have been excluded from the Appendix

since they represent only "official values" of British and colonial exports.¹⁷ In looking at the trade figures, the part played by British services such as shipping, insurance, and finance would have been useful in casting more light on trade but the values and rates of development of each of these items are imprecise or uncertain.

17. The best discussion on this subject of "official" and "real" values is Albert H. Imlah's Economic Elements in the Pax Britannica (Cambridge, Mass., 1958), Chapter II. Until about 1869 British imports and exports were recorded as "real" or declared and official. Official values which are not realistic measures of current market values were commenced at the end of the seventeenth century when record keeping of imports and exports in money values was begun. At the time, tables of prices were prepared with the rates based on current prices. Although some adjustments in the initial valuations were made in the early years, for over 150 years the same table was used to calculate official values. It was not until 1854 that this system was overhauled, but even after the new method of valuation was set up, the old system was continued until 1869. See Imlah, Economic Elements in the Pax Britannica, 20-21. Declared values which had begun in 1798 often represented the real value of goods. During the Napoleonic wars when there was the ad valorem convey duty, there existed the possibility of understating value. In 1813, however, a law was passed providing a penalty--a fine of £20 and detention of goods--for fraudulent returns. Admittedly, declared values are not perfect, but they are as close as one can get to the actual value of trade. See Imlah, Economic Elements in the Pax Britannica, 23-24.

In view of the changing value of sterling during the nineteenth century, the long term comparisons of the figures used are subject to qualifications. By 1813-1814 current prices were at 62% above their 1792 level and by 1822 they had fallen to about 24 percent above those which obtained before the Napoleonic Wars. Between 1815 and 1850 the price index showed a decline of 43% but this fall was arrested during the third quarter of the century only to start declining again in the fourth. Admittedly, the price indices provide no satisfactory reflection of changes in the purchasing power of money but as has been pointed out "within their limits, however, the existing price indices can be taken as one reflection of the long-term trends in the value of money."¹⁸

An obvious feature of a growing economy and a vital aspect of the development of a viable modern economy is the increase and the movement of population. The movement of the people of Krobo to Akwapem to buy land during the period was the result of an expanding economy and a growing population; and the movement and settlement of Fante traders

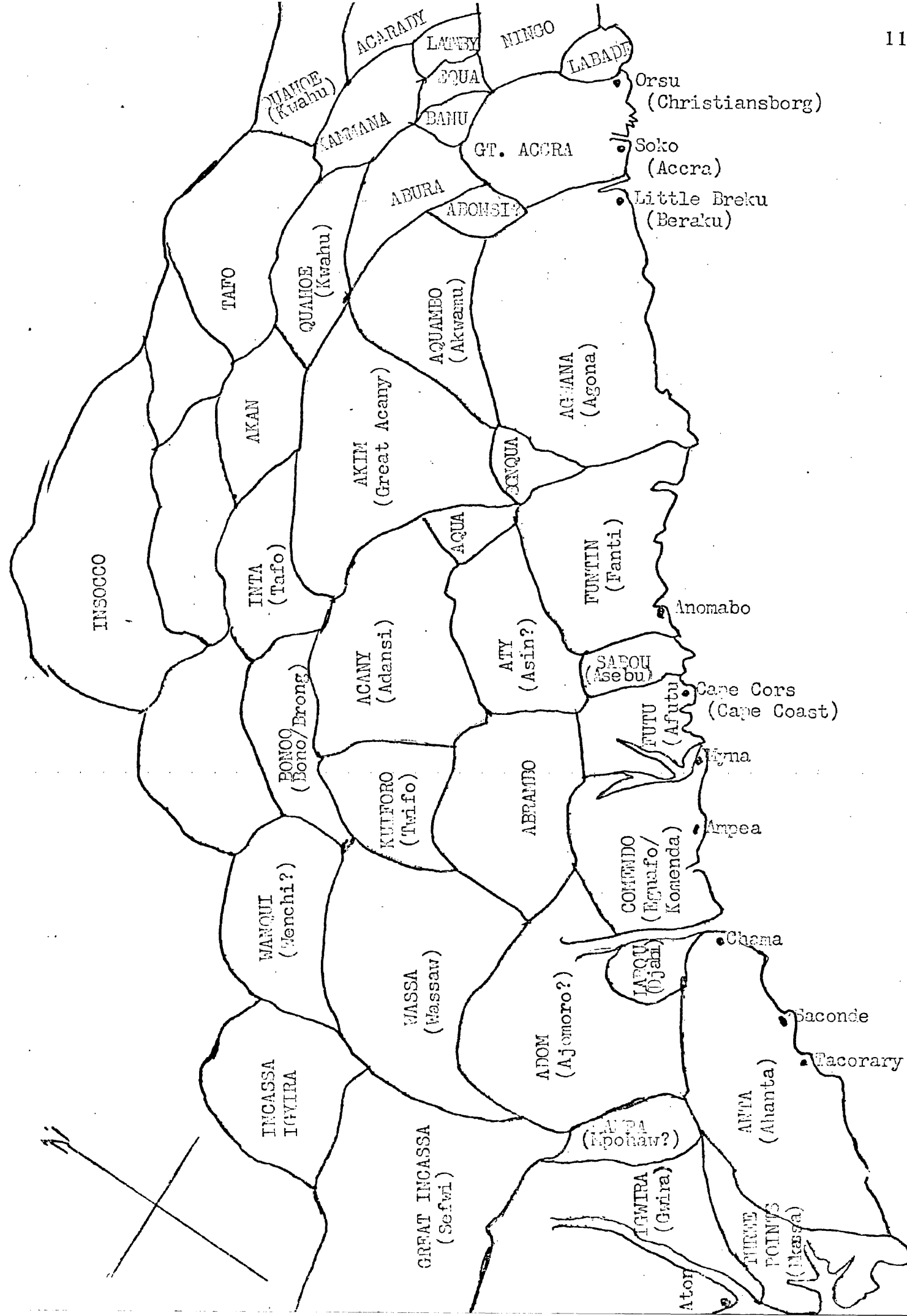
18. See P. Deane and W. A. Cole, British Economic Growth 1688-1959 (Cambridge, 1964), 16-17.

in Asiakwa Asante,¹⁹ especially in the 1830's, was because of growing trading activities. Although this feature was clearly present on the Gold Coast for the period under study, the absence of quantitative and qualitative data does not allow a full assessment of the scale of these changes.

Another important feature of the economy which is difficult to subject to statistical analysis is the substantial amount of trade and exchange involved in the internal commerce which lay outside the economic sphere of the overseas trade.

The footnotes will reveal the extent to which I have drawn upon economic, anthropological, and sociological studies. These sources have not been used primarily as models, but as tools to help interpret the historical process of trade and economic change on the Gold Coast. These aids, used in conjunction with the relevant trade and economic data in the context of the country's nineteenth century background, tell the story of Gold Coast economic history from 1807-1874.

19. See G. E. Metcalfe, Maclean of the Gold Coast (London, 1962); and John Mensah Sarbah, Fanti National Constitution (London, 1906).



CHAPTER I

TRADE AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

A striking feature of pre-nineteenth century Gold Coast as evidenced by earlier maps was the large number of independent states.¹ By 1800 a large number of them had either been absorbed or incorporated into larger ones and the number of states was considerably less than it had been. This was due, in part, to political and commercial developments and the introduction of firearms in appreciable quantities which had led to state building on an

1. See map on p. 11; also, see Kwame Yeboa Daaku and A. van Dantzig, "An Annotated Dutch Map of 1629," G.N.Q., No. 9 (November, 1966), 10.

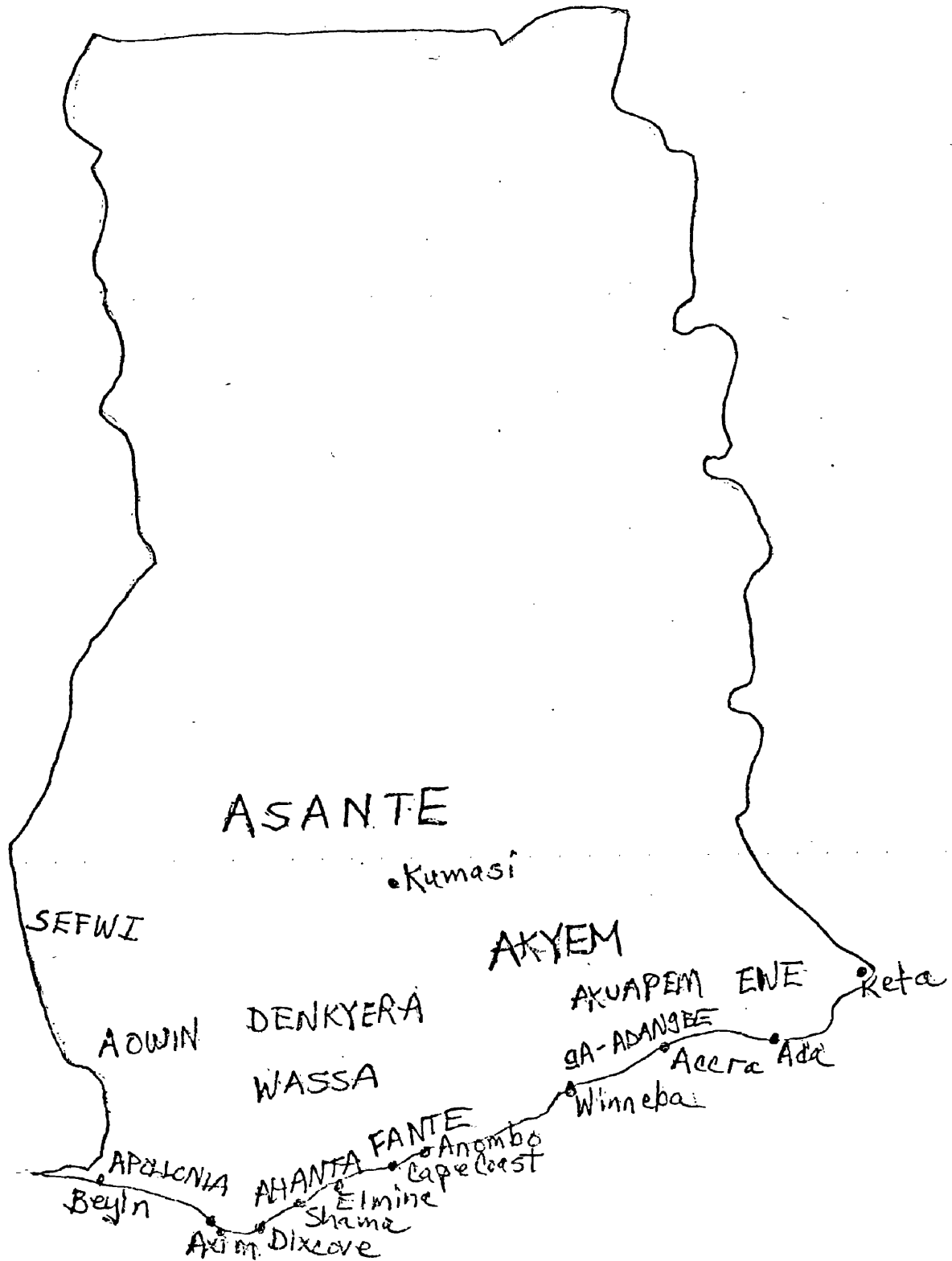
2. For a study of this process, see Kwame Yeboa Daaku, Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600-1720 (Oxford, 1970). That firearms had some impact on the process of state building cannot be denied, but recent research suggests that guns did not have the revolutionary impact on state building as it had hitherto been generally believed. See Gavin White, "Firearms in Africa: an Introduction," J.A.H., XII, 2 (1971), 173-84; R. A. Kea, "Firearms and Warfare on the Gold and Slave Coasts from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," J.A.H., XII, 2 (1971), 185-213.

unprecedented scale, especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³

The Gold Coast at the beginning of the nineteenth century extended from about $3\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west longitude to $1\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ east longitude, a distance of some 334 miles. Trading posts and urban centres had emerged along this littoral in all the independent political units which became ports for the external and internal trade and foci for the internal trade routes. In the extreme west was the state of Nzima or Apollonia where the English fort of Beyin was situated. Passing the Ancobra River and 25 miles east of Beyin on the Ahanta coast was Axim which for a long time was the port of the gold mines of Wassaw. 30 miles east of Axim was Dixcove and a further 40 miles east, passing by the

3. As Goody has observed, however, state building was not always the result of conquest and centralization sometimes resulted when a people invited neighbouring chiefs to rule them. He writes: "In West Africa I have been impressed with the apparent ease with which small-scale, temporary polities of a centralized kind arose around (or in opposition to) the raiders for slaves and booty during the period immediately prior to the coming of the Europeans. Then again, while the exchange of goods took place among and across people who lacked chiefs, long-distance trade was certainly facilitated by the presence of rulers, and did a good deal to encourage their growth." Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa (Oxford, 1971), 18.

The Gold Coast
at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century



forts of Sekondi, Shama and Komenda, was Elmina, the first European stronghold on the Gold Coast and the headquarters of Dutch activities on the Gold Coast from the time they captured it from the Portuguese in 1642 until they ceded their possessions to Britain in 1872.

A short distance from Elmina, only eight miles from the capital of her Dutch rival, was the Fante coast where the British capital of Cape Coast was located. East of the Fante coast was the territory of Ga-Adangbe. Here at Accra were situated James Fort, Ussher Fort and Christiansborg Castle, trading posts belonging to the British, the Dutch, and the Danes, respectively. 60 miles east of Accra at the mouth of the Volta River at Ada was the Danish post Kongensten. Across the Volta to the east, was the Anlo coast and some 35 miles from Ada was Keta, the location of the Danish fort Prinsenstein.

In the immediate interior of the coastal states there were more political units: from west to east these were Aowin, Sefwi, Wassaw, Twifo, Denkyira, Akyem, Akuapem, Krobo, Akwamu, and Krepi. Inland was the powerful kingdom of Asante which had politically and commercially dominated the affairs of the Gold Coast since the beginning of the eighteenth century after having expanded since the late seventeenth century: it conquered Denkyira between

1698-1701; Takyiman, 1722-1723; Gonja, 1732-1733; Gyaman, around 1740; Akyem and Accra, in 1742; Dagomba, 1744-1745 and clashed with Fante in 1765.⁴ In fact, in 1800 the whole of the Gold Coast was virtually under Asante rule except for the Fante area which was finally brought under her suzerainty after invasion of the coastal states in 1807. The prosperity of the coastal states and the European settlements, to a large extent, depended upon commercial intercourse with the inland states.

The Gold Coast of the nineteenth century was mainly inhabited by four groups of people: namely, the Akan, Ga-Adangbe, Ewe, and Guan. Ethnically and geographically, the Akan dominated the country and possessed common characteristics. They spoke Twi and dialects related to it which were mutually intelligible and shared such institutional traits as common religious beliefs, naming ceremonies, marriage customs, matrilineal systems of inheritance and a common calendar with a seven day week, with the division of the year into nine forty day cycles.⁵ The Ga-Adangbe, who occupy principally the eastern coastline west of the

4. Ivor Wilks, "Ashanti Government," in Daryll Forde and P. M. Kaberry, eds. West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford, 1967), 211.

5. Adu Boahen, "The Origins of the Akan," G.N.Q., No. 9 (November, 1966), 3-4.

Volta River, had a similar language. The Ga speaking people do not form one unit in either origin or organization and are fragmented into small political units with each unit having its own set of customs. This group did not develop any definable political hierarchy and initially their rulers were priests.⁶ The Ewe share a common language and a common origin which comprise the basis of their unity. They practice a patrilineal system of inheritance and trace their earliest home to Oyo in western Nigeria.⁷ The Guan, who live mostly on the Akuapem ridge, around Winneba, the territory straddling the black and white Voltas, along the Volta gorge as far north as Kete-Krakyie and Salaga are thought to be autochtones.⁸

Gold Coast society and its economies at the beginning of the nineteenth century had been subjected to and modified

6. M. J. Field, Social Organization of the Ga People (London, 1940), 71-84.

7. G. K. Nukunya, Kinship and Marriage among the Anlo Ewe (London, 1969), 1; M. Manoukian, The Ewe-Speaking People of Togoland and the Gold Coast (London, 1952), 30-33.

8. Otutu Bagyire VI, Abiriwhene, "The Guans: a Preliminary Note," G.N.Q., No. 7 (January, 1965), 21-24.

by over three centuries of European trade and contact which had made a significant impact on the country. Undoubtedly the period of trade with Europeans established patterns of markets, created steady demand for certain European imports, and gave rise to vested interests in the overseas trade. It is possible that this trade built on the Gold Coast trading expertise for transfer to legitimate trade after 1807 and that the activities of European traders before abolition contributed to the progress towards a modern economy the country had made by the 1800's.

The commercial relationship of the Gold Coast and, to be sure, that of West Africa with the outside world has a long history that predates the inception of Portuguese exploration and trade on the African coast. Since the Middle Ages articles from the West African interior such as gold, pepper, ivory, ebony, and slaves had been exported across the Sahara to the North African coast and from there to the outside world.⁹ There is no conclusive evidence that the Gold Coast was involved in this trade before the fourteenth century. However, in 1471 when the Portuguese arrived on the Gold Coast there were Mande traders from the

9. C. R. Crone, ed., The Voyages of Cadamosto and Other Documents (London Hakluyt Society, 1937), xi-xii.

western Sudan at Elmina. Seemingly, by the fifteenth century trade connections had developed between the Gold Coast, the western Sudan, North Africa and the outside world with the flow of trade goods in both directions.¹⁰

The motives behind the arrival of the Portuguese to Africa still remain debateable. It is not known for certain what role the search for gold played in the Portuguese exploration of the West African coast, but it seems that the quest for gold was a prime consideration after 1442.¹¹ Certainly it was the gold trade that led the Portuguese Crown, Dom João, to make the Guinea trade a royal monopoly in 1474 after Fernão Gomes' contract to explore the coast expired.

Portuguese monopoly and the lucrative trade thereby established on the West coast of Africa did not remain unchallenged, and attempts by other European powers like the French, Dutch, and English to gain a share in the trade

10. Ivory Wilks, "A Medieval Trade Route from the Niger to the Gulf of Guinea," J.A.H. III, 2 (1962), 337-39.

11. C. R. Boxer, The Portuguese Seabourne Empire: 1415-1825 (New York, 1969), 28.

led to serious international rivalry on the Gold Coast.¹²

To promote and to protect their trade Europeans built factories and castles of which the first European factory was Portuguese--Arguin, constructed in 1445. Elmina was probably the best known Portuguese castle built on the Gold Coast and became the centre and headquarters of Portuguese activities on the West African coast. The Portuguese also erected other minor fortresses at Axim, Shama and Accra, but these forts were an ineffective defence against the activities of interlopers.¹³

Europeans who followed the Portuguese to the Gold Coast continued their example of building forts and castles to promote trade all of which, except for that of Keta, were established with the consent of the local people involved. The normal procedure for erecting these buildings was for the inhabitants of an area to invite a European power to build a fort in their region. The site for the fort was then given as a gift or, as in most cases, leased

12. The history of European rivalry on the Gold Coast is well known. See especially Daaku, Trade and Politics, 7-20; H. A. Wyndham, The Atlantic and Slavery (Oxford, 1935) and J. W. Blake, European Beginnings in West Africa 1454-1578 (London, 1937).

13. Blake, European Beginnings in West Africa 1454-1578, 101.

for an annual rent. The company or country concerned was then given a monopoly of the import and the export trade, in return for which the company undertook to defend the people in case of attack.¹⁴

From the time of the Portuguese, Europeans sought to maintain an exclusive monopoly on trade. Portugal, for example, instituted severe penalties for interlopers. Illicit traders dealing in Guinea without a licence were liable to be executed and their goods appropriated by the Portuguese Crown.¹⁵ The Portuguese also forbade Africans under their sphere of influence to trade with other Europeans. There were even instances when the Portuguese ordered the Elminians to destroy a village for trading with interlopers as happened in 1610 when Mori was burned on Portuguese orders.¹⁶ Despite this Portuguese infringement

14. Wyndham, Atlantic and Slavery, 26; A. W. Lawrence, Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa (London, 1963), 66; Daaku, Trade and Politics, 56.

15. Blake, European Beginnings in West Africa, 76.

16. Harvey Michael Feinberg, "Elmina, Ghana: A History of Its Development and Relationship with the Dutch in the Eighteenth Century," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1969), 22.

upon the African^(vs) freedom to trade with outsiders, many Africans continued to do so and thus Portuguese monopoly was never complete.¹⁷

The Dutch also attempted to engage the Africans in trade with them alone. "The Negro inhabitants are generally very rich, craving a great trade with the Europeans for Gold, which they chiefly send to the English and Zealand interlopers, notwithstanding the severe penalty they incurr thereby; for if we catch them, their so bought goods are not only forfeited, but a heavy fine is laid upon 'em."¹⁸ Holland justified her sovereignty and monopoly over places like Elmina, Axim, Shama, and Mori by reasoning that she had acquired them by conquest.¹⁹

The English undertook to secure confirmation too from various local people and chiefs that they would trade with no one else.²⁰ and were able to report in 1707 that they had a number of agreements with local people. A typical agreement was one the English had with the Queen of Agona which stated that:

17. Ibid.

18. William Bosman, A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea (London, 1705), 5-6.

19. Wyndham, Atlantic and Slavery, 16-17.

20. Ibid., 22.

...the said Queen and Caboceers and people do agree that none in her towns or other places in her Dominion shall treat directly or indirectly, or have any commerce, either by themselves or others with any factory of any other nation or with any person or persons thereto belonging without leave of the Governor of Cape Coast Castle. 21

Despite the penalties for breaking these mutual understandings, they had little or no effect. The English and the Dutch also attempted to conclude working contracts to prevent the natives from playing one off against the other, but this plan failed. It seems the idea of granting trade monopolies to Europeans was subject to various interpretations. Africans might have viewed such pacts as simply giving a particular European country a share of the trade. The African custom of showing hospitality to all strangers may have also made the commitments difficult to maintain. Interpretations aside, the agreements were hard to keep when company officials on the coast not infrequently changed loyalties and often engaged in trade on the side.²²

The organization of European trading activities on the Gold Coast took various forms. In the case of Portugal it was a royal monopoly after 1474.²³ Dutch trade in West

21. Ibid.; T.70/44, letter dated 27 May 1707.

22. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 59-61.

23. Blake, European Beginnings in West Africa, 72-73.

Africa was by way of the Dutch West Indian Company which was founded in 1621. For other nations trade was conducted through charter^{ed} companies and corporations.²⁴

The first successful English company to carry on the Gold Coast trade was the Royal African Company of 1672²⁵ which was to hold the monopoly until 1698.²⁶ Then for fourteen years after this date it received a 10% duty from competing ships towards the upkeep of the forts on the Gold Coast; interlopers and other shipping trade under these arrangements were called "Ten-percenters." The company claimed its monopoly when the duty expired. From 1730 until 1747 it received grants from Parliament and was superseded in 1750 by the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa.

European traders on the Gold Coast seem to have participated in two forms of trade, namely, direct trade between Europe and the Gold Coast and a local trade between the Gold Coast and the rest of West Africa. It was probably

24. Lawrence, Trade Castles and Forts, 25, 26 and 37; K. G. Davies, The Royal African Company (London, 1957), 16-24.

25. See Davies, Royal African Company.

26. Wyndham, Atlantic and Slavery, 21.

not only the prospects of the gold trade that attracted the Portuguese to the Gold Coast, but also the opportunity to operate as middlemen in the framework of an existing local trade.²⁷

The Portuguese established a lucrative trade between the Gold Coast and Benin, building a factory at Gato for this purpose in 1486. Slaves were bought in Benin and sold on the Gold Coast to native merchants who used them as carriers to the interior since they had no beasts of burden. Other items like cotton cloths, panther skins, and palm oil were bought in Benin and sold on the Gold Coast for gold.²⁸ There seems also to have been significant trade in beads between the two coasts.²⁹

Local trade did not cease to be noteworthy when the Portuguese were dislodged from the coast. Dutch and English merchants who followed in their tracks continued to carry

27. Wilks, "A Medieval Trade Route from the Niger to the Gulf of Guinea," 339. Also, J. D. Fage, "Some Remarks on Beads and Trade in Lower Guinea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," J.A.H., III, 2 (1962), 344.

28. Blake, European Beginnings in West Africa, 93.

29. See Fage, "Some Remarks on Beads and Trade in Lower Guinea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries."

goods from other parts of West Africa for sale on the Gold Coast. In addition to the Benin trade there was local trade between the Gold Coast, the Dahomean Coast and the Ivory Coast where the famous Quaqua cloth was obtained.³⁰ Some of the cloth sold in the local trade came from the far interior.

Europeans participated too in the local salt trade. In 1724, for instance, Europeans were in control of the salt ponds near Accra. So lucrative was this trade to Europeans that they sometimes demanded salt in payment of goods they sold to the people of the Gold Coast. At other times, during the off-season, Africans were given credit to be paid in salt.

Until at least the beginning of the eighteenth century the mainstay of European-African trade was gold. Europeans came to associate sections of West Africa with the prominent trade items they produced. And, as the name of the Gold Coast implied, the yellow metal abounded which formed the basis of an initial trading with Europeans and attracted

30. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 6 and 24.

31. Ibid., 26.

the early concentration of European forts on the Gold Coast. It is difficult to obtain an accurate estimate of the total exports of gold from the Gold Coast.³² It has been suggested that after 1481 Portugal imported approximately 170,000 dobras of gold annually to Portugal. Gold exports began to decline from about 1530, but they did not reach a serious stage until the end of the sixteenth century.³³ Writing at the beginning of the eighteenth

32. N. R. Junner, Gold on the Gold Coast (Colchester, 1935), 14. According to Junner the annual exports of gold are:

	Annual Average	Total Ounces
1471-1750 (280 years)	40,000	11,200,000
1750-1800 (50 years)	10,000	500,000
1801-1850 (50 years)	40,000	2,000,000
1851-1880 (30 years)	25,000	750,000
	Total	14,450,000

The figures for the first half of the nineteenth century are somewhat higher than those available in official returns for the Gold Coast but those for 1851-1880 compare favorably with available figures. See also Walter Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," T.H.S.G., X (Legon, 1969), 13-28; Daaku, Trade and Politics, 23.

33. Blake, European Beginnings in West Africa, 83.

century, Bosman calculated that gold exports from the Gold Coast amounted to about 7,000 marks in a good year. This was the equivalent of about L224,000 sterling or L2,000,000 in twentieth century terms. Of this, Bosman estimated that the Royal African Company received 1,200 marks which was equivalent then to about L38,000.³⁴ On the other hand, between 1682-1692 the Royal African Company exported L250,000³⁵ and between 1672 and 1713, 548,327 guineas were coined from gold imported from the Gold Coast. It would seem that Bosman's figures are exaggerated to some degree but the figures do point to the scope of the Gold Coast gold trade. By the late eighteenth century, the export of gold began to decline. This led to an increase in the purchasing price of gold and the inhabitants of the Gold Coast began to demand gold as partial payment for their slaves.³⁶ In 1772 Brew of Anomabu wrote:

34. Bosman, New and Accurate Description, 89; J. D. Fage, Ghana, a Historical Interpretation (Madison, 1961), 47 and Daaku, Trade and Politics, 23.

35. Davies, Royal African Company, 225.

36. Marion Johnson, "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade," J.A.H. VII, 2 (1966), 203; Davies, Royal African Company, 225.

There is no buying slaves now without you give 2 oz. of gold on each to procure which, you must sell your goods 20% under prime cost and may think yourself happy to get it even at that rate. The black traders...will not take the primest smoked taffy... but will oblige you to give seven a ckies of gold in its stead, and they will have gold for any article that is not in ready sale in the market, in short, the nature of the trade is so much altered that a man who was here but two years ago would be at his wits end to make a purchase.³⁷

Of course the Asante-Fante dispute in 1765 was among the immediate causes of the hiatus in the gold trade.³⁸

The export trade of the Gold Coast was not confined to gold alone as considerable quantities of ivory were involved. Elephants were rather scarce on the Gold Coast and it seems that most of the ivory exported from there came from Ahafo and Gyaman and other interior markets on the fringe of the forest.³⁹ That the ivory trade was in the hands of rulers was a common assumption based on the fact that when an elephant was killed on the Gold Coast one of the tusks was given to the chief.

37. E. Donnan, ed., Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America, 4 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1930ff.), II, 547.

38. Johnson, "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade," 204.

39. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee (London, 1819), 332 and Daaku, Trade and Politics, 27-28.

The Gold Coast until the end of the seventeenth century produced more gold than slaves, but this situation changed in the eighteenth century when the gold trade declined and the slave trade became the main export. It is not unlikely that slaving activities had a disrupting influence on gold mining activities. It was for this reason that the Portuguese and the Dutch attempted to exclude slave trading from the Gold Coast. The Dutch maintained their interest in the gold trade for as long as they could. And it was suggested by an account of 1706 that the local people were said to be used to transporting their slaves to the English and their gold to the Dutch. The Dutch were attracted to the slave trade early in the eighteenth century while still maintaining their interest in the gold trade. Although they entertained relinquishing slave trading for a period of time, paradoxically they encouraged it in order to safeguard their gold markets.⁴⁰

It was evident at the beginning of the eighteenth century that with the great demand for slaves to work the sugar, tobacco, and cotton plantations of the New World, the slave trade had become essential on the Gold Coast. The changing trade situation on the Gold Coast can be

40. Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 17-19; Davies, Royal African Company, 227.

seen in the major English trading objectives on the Gold Coast. In 1660 the Company of Adventurers of London trading in Africa was founded with the objectives of searching for gold.⁴¹ However, when the Royal African Company was formed in 1672 the chief aim was to trade in slaves in order to meet the increasing demands of the English colonies.⁴²

By the third decade of the eighteenth century slaves had become the main concern on the Gold Coast and gold, a subsidiary one. This in effect altered the nature of Afro-European trade. The people of the Gold Coast who had up until now exported both slaves and gold were now exporting captives and demanding payment for them in gold. This derived from the exploitation of Brazilian gold wealth and reached West Africa through resident European merchants at Whydah and Sao Tome who had gained control of some of the imported metal.⁴³ In 1729 when this practice of payment for slaves in gold on the Gold Coast came to their attention the Royal African Company warned their employees that "It was never intended that gold purchased there (in Whydah and

41. Davies, Royal African Company, 41.

42. Ibid.

43. Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 18.

the Island of São Tome) would be brought to the Gold Coast and sunk there; if the natives would not accept English manufactures they should keep their slaves."⁴⁴ By the 1720's, as it was reported, the Gold Coast had indeed become a slave coast.⁴⁵

The Gold Coast was most active in the slave trade during the eighteenth century and thanks to Professor Philip Curtin's recent and careful study on the slave trade there is a more accurate indication of the part played by the Gold Coast.⁴⁶ The slave exports of the French and the English may be represented by the figures in Table on

44. T.70/54: Royal African Company to Braithwaite, Cruickshank and Peake, 14 August 1729, quoted in Sammy Tenkorang, "British Slave Trading Activities on the Gold and Slave Coasts in the 18th Century" (unpublished M.A. thesis, London University, 1964), 36.

45. W.I.C., Vol. 387, 63, quoted in Johannes Postma, "The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade; Slaving on the Guinea Coast 1675-1795" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Michigan State University, 1970). J. K. Fynn "Ashanti and Her Neighbors 1700-1807" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1964), 28.

46. See Philip D. Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census (Madison, 1969).

page 34 which exclude slaves exported by the Danes and the Dutch. The Danish participation in the African slave trade was about 1% and in most cases they despatched one or two ships to the coast per year.⁴⁷ The Dutch participation of the slave trade was also limited. It is likely that most of the Dutch slaves came from the Gold Coast area. According to a recent study based on the available Dutch records, Holland averaged approximately 3,500 slaves a year and had a 10% share of the total African slave trade. However, the Dutch records are not sufficiently precise in distinguishing between slaves from the Gold Coast and those from other regions of West Africa.⁴⁸ According to Postma, for five decades following 1675 the Dutch averaged 2-3,000 slaves a year. The volume of Dutch slave trading activities increased during the 1720's reaching a peak in the 1760's when they attained an annual average of more than 7,000 slaves. But without the Danish and Dutch figures, which will probably not substantially alter the

47. Postma, "Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade," 14; Curtin, Atlantic Slave Trade, 86; Georg Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa 1658-1850 (Boston, 1966), 50, 80 and 87; Donnan, Documents, II, xv.

48. Postma, "Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade," 3.

TABLE 66

PROJECTED EXPORTS OF THAT PORTION OF THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH SLAVE TRADE
HAVING IDENTIFIABLE REGION OF COASTAL ORIGIN IN AFRICA, 1711-1810

Region	1711- 20	1721- 30	1731- 40	1741- 50	1751- 60	1761- 70	1771- 80	1781- 90	1791- 1800	1801- 10	Total
Senegambia %	30,900* 16.5	22,500 10.0	26,200 8.2	25,000 7.4	22,500 7.6	21,400 5.5	17,700 6.0	20,300 3.4	4,400 1.1	800 0.3	191,700 5.8
Sierra Leone %	5,900 3.2	15,000 6.7	14,900 4.7	18,400 5.4	9,900 3.4	5,300 1.4	3,700 1.3	17,700 3.0	12,200 3.2	9,600 3.6	112,600 3.4
Windward Coast %	30,600 16.4	47,600 21.2	55,200 17.3	65,300 19.3	29,800 10.1	67,600 17.4	49,700 16.9	24,400 4.1	14,700 3.8	11,200 4.2	396,100 12.1
Gold Coast %	44,000 23.5	54,200 24.2	65,200 20.5	67,000 19.8	41,800 14.2	52,400 13.5	38,700 13.2	59,900 10.1	29,400 7.7	22,100 8.3	474,700 14.4
Bight of Benin %	72,500 38.8	48,400 21.6	59,400 18.6	30,900 9.1	35,600 12.1	48,400 12.5	41,400 14.1	120,400 20.3	15,100 3.9	5,300 2.0	477,400 14.5
Bight of Biafra %	—	4,500 2.0	45,100 14.2	71,300 21.1	100,700 34.1	139,300 35.9	100,000 34.0	114,800 19.4	137,600 35.9	110,400 41.5	823,700 25.1
Central and southeast Africa %	3,200 1.7	32,000 14.3	52,500 16.5	60,200 17.8	54,600 18.5	53,200 13.7	42,900 14.6	234,400 39.6	170,400 44.4	106,700 40.1	810,100 24.7
Total %	187,000 100.0	224,200 100.0	318,500 100.0	338,100 100.0	295,000 100.0	387,700 100.0	294,000 100.0	591,800 100.0	383,800 100.0	266,000 100.0	3,286,100 100.0

* Figures and totals have been rounded.

Sources: Tables 43, 49 (through the 1740's), and 60 (1751-1810) leaving aside category of "other" or "unknown."

Curtin, The Atlantic Slave Trade, 221.

above figures, there is still enough information here to indicate the significant trends of the slave trade on the Gold Coast.

Slave exports from the Gold Coast, as from the rest of West Africa, steadily increased from the 1700's until reaching a plateau in the 1740's. After the middle of the century slave exports fluctuated from decade to decade in response to Anglo-French sea warfare. The number of slaves exported in the Atlantic slave trade fell from 338,100 to 295,000 from the decade of 1741 to 1750 to the decade of 1751 to 1760 whereas the Gold Coast slave trade registered a decline from 67,000 to 41,800 in those same two decades. The only area in Africa with an increase during this period was the Bight of Benin. 1761-1770 showed rises and falls in trade in different areas and during this period the Gold Coast, the Bights of Benin and Biafra and the Windward Coast were the only areas in Africa that experienced an increase in the trade. There was a general decline in 1771-1780, but 1781-1790 manifested increased trade, except for the Windward coast. The period from 1791 to 1810 reflected the beginning of the downward spiral of the slave trade which coincides with the period of the Napoleonic Wars and the Gold Coast's trade reaction.⁵⁰ As the table

50. Ibid.

shows, from the figures available, it seems that the Gold Coast was consistently a leading exporter of slaves during the eighteenth century and invariably responded more than any other area to the supply, demand and fluctuations of the trade.

The slave trade pattern on the Gold Coast like that of other parts of West Africa responded to local supply. However, on the Gold Coast with the castle trade and with European traders around to buy slaves at all times the Gold Coast reacted to the demand of European traders more than others without castles. Curtin has suggested that there existed certain peaks in the slave trade because of large numbers of prisoners for sale. The slave export peaks of Sierra Leone in the 1720's and 1740's are rationalized this way. The case of trade fluctuations in the Bight of Benin in the early decades of the eighteenth century was the result of political change.⁵¹

The steady increase in the slave trade on the Gold Coast from the beginning of the eighteenth century to the 1740's coincides with the period of the rise and expansion of Asante. Thus it is possible to conclude that the

51. Ibid., 226.

slaves exported during that period were from the wars waged in the wake of the expansion during the first half of the eighteenth century. Of course it must be borne in mind that figures by decades are too general to relate to particular events unless one is dealing with a period of severe war or anarchy. Despite Curtin's claim that one cannot correlate the rise and fall in the slave trade figures after the 1740's with wars in Asante and the hinterland, it is possible to partially explain what, admittedly, is a complicated problem by the Asante internal political situation and patterns of wars. Thus, the 1750's, which were marked by the lowest export figures yet in the century, also correspond roughly with the reign of the unwarlike Asantehene Kwasi Obodum (1750-1764). For the increase in the sixties one might adduce civil disturbance in Asante, their great defeat of 1764 and their invasion of the coast in 1765. The decline in the seventies was because of the greater stability in the reign of Osei Kwadwo (1764-1777) and the new peak in the eighties could represent the reign of Osei Kwame (1777-1801) which was marked by continuous instability, disunity and civil wars. The sharp decline after 1790 could be due to external factors, especially war in Europe.

It has been estimated that only about 25% of the

slaves exported from the Gold Coast came from the coastal region and by the middle of the eighteenth century the Donkos, people from the North, had replaced Fante slaves.⁵² There is documentation to suggest that Asante were obtaining their slaves from the north as early as 1715.⁵³

The bulk of the people sold in the Atlantic slave trade were the victims of wars and raids. The connection between wars and slavery is a well known fact, but this has often led to the static picture that Africans fought wars solely for the purpose of obtaining slaves.⁵⁴ Acquiring slaves, however, was only incidental to the conduct of warfare. Furthermore wars were bad for trade items like gold and did not always yield slaves. European traders therefore stood to gain most from wars after major conflicts where one side was routed.⁵⁵

Raiding was especially calculated to secure slaves for

52. Tenkorang, "British Slave Trading Activities," 60.

53. T.70/1464: Komenda Fort Diary, entry dated 4 August 1715.

54. This attitude of fighting wars for economic purposes as applied to Asante is what Kwame Arhin has attacked as "a barbarous view of Ashanti history." See Kwame Arhin, "The Structure of Greater Ashanti (1700-1824), J.A.H., VIII, 1 (1967).

55. Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 23.

sale. Asante raided northern areas, and during the early decades of the eighteenth century Akyem, Kwahu, and Krepi villages often became the victims of Akwamu raiders. Asante also received slaves from subject peoples like Dagomba which at one point supplied Asante with 400 slaves a year.⁵⁶ Of course some of Asante's slaves were also obtained through peaceful trade with northern markets like Salaga in exchange for kola. Other groups of people sold into slavery were those convicted of witchcraft, people panyarred and those caught committing adultery with a wife of the chief. A recent study of the notes on the 179 informants supplied by S. W. Koelle in his Polyglotta Africana of 1854 shows that 34% of them were war captives, 30% were kidnapped and the remaining third were mostly people sold by relatives or superiors for debt or condemned by the judicial process.⁵⁷ The external and internal slave trade

56. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 320-1; Goody, Technology, Tradition and the State, 52.

57. P. E. H. Hair, "The Enslavement of Koelle's Informants," J.A.H. VI, 2 (1965), 193-203. Among those condemned by the judicial process were witches. In 1811 Henry Meredith wrote in reference to this practice: "Since the abolition of the slave trade, we have heard of no conviction of this sort and we may suppose that the severity of the laws, as they regard trifling and imaginary offences, will be mitigated, if not, absolutely altered, in consequence of that humane act." An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa (London, 1812), 29. He also pointed out that trade-boys and gold-takers "were not backward in stimulating a disposition for quarrels and encouraging palavers, or lawsuits, which tendered to the slavery of their countrymen." Ibid., 104.

existed side by side but the external recruitment invariably took priority everywhere,⁵⁸ with the slave trade largely in the hands of the ruling class and the chiefs. It was they who were engaged in a partnership of exploitation with the Europeans: they made wars, sanctioned raids and by their traditional legal authority condemned people accused of certain crimes to slavery.⁵⁹

Slaves employed in European castles, known as "castle slaves," were often obtained from the Slave Coast or the Niger Delta region. Whenever the supply of castle slaves dwindled, vessels were sent to get more from these regions.⁶⁰ To be sure some castle slaves were obtained from the Gold Coast, but it seems that the reason for bringing some of them from the outside was to avoid fraternization with free Africans on the coast. British castle slaves were, in a way, a privileged group. While domestic slaves on the Gold Coast were liable to be sold for misdemeanours, it was

58. Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," 25.

59. Rodney, "Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on West Africa," 37 in R. Oliver, The Middle Ages of African History (Oxford, 1967).

60. Postma, "Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade," 30 and 53; A.N.G.B. Vol. 240, 53; A.N.A.B. Vol 5, minutes 11/14/70; W.I.C. Vol. 1024 and W.I.C. Vol. 485, 327, quoted in Postma.

The value of goods in gold, on the Gold Coast, is estimated, pro forma, to be half the trade price, or half the price at which they were valued when bartered for ivory...The prices in gold are, nevertheless, governed by the demand, and the qualities and patterns of the articles on sale...At one period I have sold a hogshed of tobacco, which cost L30 in England for L260 sterling in gold. 65

This trader has provided in the table below some comparison of prices in England with those on the coast. 66

Goods Suitable to Barter for Gold and Ivory on the Gold Coast, Extending from Cape Palmas to the River Volta 67

Name of the various goods	Remarks	Cost price in England			Trade Value in Africa		
		L	s	d	oz.	ac.	(L s)
Half says blue		0	18	0		10	(2 10)
Ells, green		1	0	0	0	8	(2
Ells, yellow							
Bejutapants, red		0	18	0		10	(2 10)
Blue							
Chelloes		0	16	0		10	(2 10)
Neganipants			17	0		10	(2 10)
Nicanees			15	0		8	(2 0)
Toptsails (East Indian cotton)			12	0		8	(2 0)
Tom coffee romal			10	0		6	(1 10)

65. Captain John Adams, Remarks on the Country Extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo; including Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, (London, 1823), 236-7.

66. Ibid., 235-6.

67. The bulk of the goods were Indian cotton and Indian silk and hence some of the names may be guessed at like silesias which were thin Indian silks made for the African trade, but other items are more difficult to identify. See Donnan, Documents, II, 274. The observation on goods suitable for trade on the Gold Coast between 1796-1800 show how popular Indian goods were. As will be seen, during the nineteenth century, these goods were replaced by Manchester manufacturers.

Name of the various goods	Remarks	Cost price in England			Trade Value in Africa		
		L	s	d	oz.	ac.	(L s)
Tape romal			10	0		6	(1 10)
Abang romal			10	0		6	(1 10)
Bonny blue			10	0		6	(1 10)
Hair romal			8			6	(1 10)
Asshantee romal			7			6	(1 10)
Chintz	Five rolls		15			8	(2
Chintz	Two rolls		12			8	(2
Danes red 8 handkerchiefs		0	12	0		8	(2
Danes superfine			10			8	(2
Linen, silesias	Six yards		5	6		2	(10)
Cottons	Two blues, 4 yds.		6			4	(1
Stuffs, guinea			6			2	(10)
Taffety		1	15	0	1	0	(4
Rum, ankers, 6 gals.			12		0	6	(1 10)
Iron bars			5			2	(10)
Lead bars	Four		2	0	0	1	(5)
Gunpowder, kegs	3 to a barrell	1	1	0	1	0	(4
Tob leaf hhds			15	0	0	8	(2 10)
Guns	Dane & buccaneer	0	12	0	0	6	(1 10)
Pipes, boxes			12	0		6	(1 10)
Pans, brass		0	7	0	0	1	(5)
Pewter		0	0	0	0	1	(5)
Tallow, kegs			3	0	0	2	(10)

Trade on the Gold Coast involved certain risks and precautions had to be taken to guard against fraud and to select items for trade. One of the dishonest practices of the Guinea trade was the adulteration of goods, especially gold and ivory. Brass and copper filings were often mixed with gold, and to avoid being cheated most ships trading on the Gold Coast engaged a professional gold assayer.⁶⁸ Large ivory tusks had to be examined very carefully because

68. Lars Sundstrom, The Guinea Trade (Oslo, 1966), 59.

traders had a trick of pouring melted lead into the hollow part to increase the weight. A brass rod was usually employed for sounding the tusks to detect the lead, and the filling was discovered when the lead in the ivory was struck.⁶⁹ In trading on the Gold Coast, items had to be carefully selected, and goods on the whole had to suit seasonal changes and demands. Occasionally, by the time certain goods reached the coast, there would be no demand for them, while at other times the color of the goods might not appeal to the people.⁷⁰

Another risk of the trade was the credit system that developed and seems to have been extended on both sides. Sometimes the African advanced the European trader goods and at times the European supplied the African goods beforehand.⁷¹ This credit system was commercially called the "trust" and was often abused by both sides. However, despite these abuses and complaints about the trust, it continued. Sundstrom has suggested that the system might have originated as an attempt to secure the goodwill of

69. W. F. Hutchinson, "The Gold Trade of the Gold Coast 1826-1890," E.D.M., XIII, 4 (March 1925), 9.

70. Wyndham, Atlantic and Slavery, 66-67; Daaku, Trade and Politics, 39.

71. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 42-43.

important chiefs and merchants but became a necessary evil in the face of rivalry between competing Europeans.⁷² On the Gold Coast, as in other places in West Africa, trade depended upon the goodwill of the people. Europeans, therefore, sought and cultivated the friendships of local potentates with gifts, a major feature of the trade, being sent to coastal rulers as well as to those inland. It even became a feature of the trade for newly arrived governors of European castles to send presents to the rulers.⁷³

Middlemen were essential for the conduct of trade on the Gold Coast, but they did not seem to have completely controlled the coastal area. Asante seems to have had an outlet to the coast at Elmina from at least the beginning of the eighteenth century, and although the Fante and other states periodically closed the routes to the interior during times of conflict, they apparently never totally denied the interior people access to the coast to trade. The Accra coast also appears to have been open to interior traders for most of the time of European trade. Of course it is true that the coastal people established interior

72. Sundstrom, Guinea Trade, 39.

73. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 33 and 54.

markets where they met people from the inland for the purpose of trade, but this did not preclude their coming to the coast to trade. At one time or another, most of the important trading nations like Assin, Denkyera, Fante, Akwamu and even Asante acted as middlemen. For example, by the 1630's Assin, renowned throughout the seventeenth century as a trading nation, had established a middleman position between the interior and the littoral strip between Elmina and Winneba. Denkyera also assumed a middleman position between the interior and the western region of the Gold Coast when it conquered Assin. Denkyera apparently lost her middleman position when conquered by Asante in 1701. Fante became the principal middleman for the central region after Denkyera conquered Assin. By 1702 in the east Akwamu, which controlled the coast between Apam and Whydah in Dahomey, maintained a monopoly of trade with that section and the interior until her collapse in 1730.⁷⁴ Asante could be said to have played a middleman role between the coastal and the interior trade. Further one might say that the Portuguese and other Europeans who followed them also played a middleman role as carriers in

⁷⁴. K. B. Dickson, A Historical Geography of Ghana (Cambridge, 1969), 107 and 108.

the coastal trade between the Gold Coast and other sections of West Africa. The Portuguese, for example, participated in a carrying trade between the Gold Coast and Benin.⁷⁵

The role of the coastal states, acting as a liaison between European traders and those of the interior, resulted in the emergence of a broker class through whom inland traders had to operate in their dealings with the Europeans. These brokers were people who knew the trading language and many of them were found around all the European settlements.⁷⁶ Merchants on the coast often contracted with coastal chiefs to act as brokers for them. Chiefs from the interior also, from time to time, assigned traders from their territories to coastal chiefs who received a brokerage fee on the merchandize traded.⁷⁷ The chiefs seem to have received a brokerage fee from European traders when inland traders came to the coast to trade. The practice, which

75. See Wilks, "Medieval Trade Route"; also Blake, European Beginnings in West Africa.

76. Postma, "Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade," 83-84.

77. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 96 and Bosman, New and Accurate Description, 191.

dated from the time of the Portuguese, persisted well into the nineteenth century.⁷⁸

In fact the position of the coastal states and trade led to the rise of a new class. The rise of this class was both a response and a by product of the European trade, especially the Atlantic slave trade. Dr. Daaku, amplifying the roles of some of them, says there were those

...who may be described in modern parlance as the advertising agents or market researchers. Not only were they to popularize the European goods and to induce inland traders to trade with their employers, but it was these agents who watched the trend of demand by the consumers.⁸⁰

Among the new class names like Edward Barter, John Konny and John Kabes stand out. Barter was probably one of the most influential mulattoes on the Gold Coast during the seventeenth century whose main duty seemed to have

78. C.O.96/94: D. P. Chalmers to Acting Administrator, 28 October 1872; C.O.96/96: Pope Hennesey to Kimberly, 8 February 1874; C.O.96/94: Representative of F. and A. Swanzy to Pope Hennesey, 4 November 1872; C.O.96/94: Salmon to Colonel Harley, 30 November 1872 and C.O.96/94: Hennesey to Earl of Kimberly, 28 December 1872.

79. For more information on the rise of the new class see Daaku, Trade and Politics, 96-114.

80. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 104.

been to collect debts due to Europeans from Africans.⁸¹ John Kabes became a broker from whom the English and the Dutch sought services. In the 1680's he was trading for the Dutch and when he broke with them he was invited in 1695 to Komenda to work for the English. He became the most important person in Komenda and often played the English and the Dutch off against one another. Engaged in many business enterprises besides his extensive trade, he had maize farms and kept a flotilla of canoes which he hired out to Europeans. Because of his economic position he was able to wield far-reaching social and political influence at his base at Komenda. Kabes could even boast of friendship and influence with the Asantehene.⁸² John Konny was born around the 1660's and the early 1670's. He virtually became the ruler of Ahanta and with a large force at his disposal was able to disrupt trade. Because of his influence European companies sought to avert confrontations with him that might disrupt trade. Like his contemporary Kabes, Konny achieved wealth and power. Daaku, who has dubbed both men "the Merchant Princes," summed up John Konny thus:

81. Ibid., 98.

82. Ibid., 15-27.

The most active period of his life was spent in the service of the Brandenburg African Company. His main desire was to serve faithfully the company he had helped to establish in his state. He tried unsuccessfully to inject life into the crumbling fortunes of the company. His liberal commercial policy won him the respect and love of the inland traders, and enabled him to cultivate the friendship of the Asante king, who was indubitably the most powerful ruler on the Gold Coast. 83

Some of the new class were also employed in minor positions as soldiers. Others worked around the European forts as unskilled and semi-skilled labourers. Some were masons, carpenters and bricklayers while others were employed as gold assayers.⁸⁴ The inroads that the European trade made into Gold Coast society were as significant as they were obvious and serious adjustments would be needed once the bulk of this trade was removed.

The social and economic impact of European trading on the Gold Coast, felt both on the coastal states and the inland states of the country, was far-reaching. European trading on the coast transformed many former fish or salt extraction coastal villages into thriving, commercial centres and urban markets. With the coastal societies European influence did not stop at economic activities, for

83. Ibid., 141.

84. Ibid., 103-4.

Europeans interfered with political activities in order to derive advantages for themselves.⁸⁵ They also seem to have exercised a certain amount of jurisdiction; in some places on the Gold Coast the inhabitants paid tolls on their fish catch to Europeans. Elmina fishermen, for example, paid the Dutch a toll of 20% of their catch during the seventeenth century. In the following century the toll had increased to 25%. Other towns like Shama, Mori, and Axim also paid tolls.⁸⁶

Even though kingdoms like Akwamu, Denkyera, and Asante developed under the stimulus of external trade and owed much of their inception to their proximity to interior trade routes in the north; their later fortunate positions in the interior were partly due to the European trade and the markets that developed on the littoral.⁸⁷ Population growth around the coastal markets affected the rise of states on the coast. One scholar has recently demonstrated that "the complexity of political institutions and the density of the population are related in a positive manner--

85. Ibid., 73-95.

86. Feinberg, "Elmina, Ghana," 164.

87. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 5; Peter Morton-Williams, "The Influence of Habitat and Trade on Politics of Oyo and Asante," in Mary Douglas and Phyllis M. Kaberry, Man in Africa, (London, 1969), 79-98.

that is, states are generally denser than non-states." As the population densities on the immediate coastal areas were influenced by European contact and trade, "it is instructive that local states did arise in response to this trade and as part of the same general process that saw population increase in the region."⁸⁸

A glib assumption is often made that local traditional industries yield to cheap European manufacturers. Perhaps now that recent researchers have shown that firearms did not have the revolutionary impact on Africa that they were once thought to have had,⁸⁹ historians may look soberly at the impact inexpensive European trade goods had on local industry.⁹⁰ As has been observed: "With the notable exception of firearms, these goods were luxuries rather than necessities; they merely supplemented local manufacturers."⁹¹

88. Robert F. Stevenson, Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa (New York, 1968), vii and 169.

89. See J.A.H., II, no. 13 (1971), forthcoming.

90. A study of this kind has been done on India, where, as in Africa, there was the assumption that imports of foreign cloth ruined a great part of traditional production. See M. D. Morris, "Toward a Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History," J.E.H., XXIII (1963), 606-18.

91. Christopher Fyfe, "West African Trade, A.D. 1000-1800," in Ajayi, Ade and Espie, Ian, eds., A Thousand Years of West African History (Ibadani, 1965), 244.

Despite the activities of Europeans on the coast, the internal trade of the Gold Coast continued to remain important. That the northern interior trade and markets were important to the people can be seen in the trading patterns and in the direction of the expansion of the states of the Gold Coast during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Akyem's trade during the early decades of the seventeenth century, for instance, was mainly directed north and not to the coast. The farthest south they came at that time was the Accra inland market of Abonce.⁹² Adansi traders also directed their commerce north and the establishment of Europeans on the coast simply added to their trade.⁹³ The initial expansion of Denkyera was to the north for the purpose of controlling the trade routes leading to the markets of Bono-Manso and Begho. It was not until after her northern expansion that Denkyera began to penetrate south.⁹⁴ Asante expansion, which gave it the enviable control of the sources of gold, slaves, and kola producing regions, was along the northwest and northeast trade routes.⁹⁵

92. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 145.

93. Ibid., 148.

94. Ibid., 157.

95. Ibid., 162; Fynn, "Ashanti and Her Neighbors," 124-64 and see Ivor Wilks, The Northern Factor in Ashanti History (Legon, 1961).

There is evidence that during the last four decades of the eighteenth century when the gold trade on the coast was at a low ebb, considerable quantities were reaching North Africa. This indicated that the flow of gold was being reversed and commercial contacts with the interior were not unimportant.⁹⁶ The interior trade was always important to the Gold Coast economy despite the trading activities of Europeans on the coast, and by 1800 indigenous trade had neither disappeared nor completely yielded to the external trade; it was strong and viable enough to function when the slave trade which formed the basis of the foreign trade was removed. Although the internal trade of the Gold Coast was still important at the time of abolition, the slave trade era had been a significant phase in the long-term economic evolution of the Gold Coast and had affected the social and economic institutions of the country by the nineteenth century.

Domestic slavery, together with the associated practice of panyarring, was a common feature of all the societies of the Gold Coast. The origins of domestic slavery on the Gold Coast are not fully known, but it dates back at least to the fifteenth century when the Portuguese were selling

96. Johnson, "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade," 204.

slaves from Benin on the Gold Coast. Professor Fage has shown in his recent study that sums up the current thinking and scholarship on the slave trade, that what might be called a "slave economy" developed along with the foreign trade with its demand for slaves. According to Fage the "slave economy" which had been established in the western and central Sudan had spread to the Senegal and the Lower Guinea coasts by the fifteenth century.⁹⁷ The practice of slavery was universalised and numbers of slaves greatly increased during the period of the Atlantic slave trade.⁹⁸

Domestic slavery was still an important institution in the country at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but as is well known it differed considerably from the plantation slavery of the Americas. Slaves were often regarded as part of the family on the Gold Coast. A nineteenth century resident on the coast described the system of slavery that existed in the country:

97. J. D. Fage, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History," J.A.H., X, 3 (1969), 393-404.

98. Tenkorang, "British Slave Trading Activities," 25-26. On the Gold Coast a class of domestic slaves who emerged concurrently with the Atlantic slave trade were the unacceptable slaves who were left over. They were known locally as waw-waw slaves, meaning unacceptable ones. Ibid.

The condition of the slaves in the countries under our protection is by no means one of unmitigated hardship. In ordinary cases, the slave is considered as a member of his master's family, and often succeeds to his property, in default of a natural heir. He eats with him from the same dish, and has an equal share in all his simple enjoyments. He intermarries with his children, and is allowed to acquire property of his own, over which, unless under very extraordinary circumstances, his master exercises no control. He sometimes even acquires wealth and consideration far superior to his master, who may occasionally be seen swelling his importance by following in his train. They address each other as "my father" and "my son", and differ in little in their relations from the respect and obedience implied in these endearing epithets. 99

The whole question of slavery is the more difficult to understand because there were many varying degrees of servitude. Asante had at least five terms describing different conditions of slavery. First, there was the Akoa which although it could be translated to mean slave is best translated as subject and originally referred not to a condition of servitude but to a state of dependence such as all men and women in the society stood in relation to some other persons or groups.¹⁰⁰ Although Brodie Cruickshank might have overstated his case, his words, to some extent, do convey the concept of Akoa:

99. Brodie Cruickshank, Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa (London, 1853), 2 vols., II, 240.

100. R. S. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution (London, 1929), 34-46.

...the acknowledged head of a family possesses the unquestionable right to dispose of his descendants, and collateral relations, in any way that he may think fit; that they are in fact so much property, which he can sell, pawn, or give away at his pleasure. 101

Even where the position of the Akoa was one of servitude, there was surely a distinction between the "favored" domestic slave, virtually a member of the family, and the slave laborer employed in mining, portage and the like. The relative use of the word slaves as applied to people who worked for European companies and who were called castle slaves might be interjected here. Some of these people performed skilled tasks, were handsomely paid by the standards of their day and often times felt superior to the free people outside the castle.¹⁰²

Secondly, there was Awowa, which in essence was a pawn, a pledge, a mortgage or a security for what a person owed. Thus, if a person needed to borrow or owed another person he could take a member of his family or a slave to his debtor as pawn. The pawn worked for the creditor who fed and clothed him and for all intents and purposes he was a slave until the debt was paid. Other valuable items

101. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, I, 313.

102. Tenkorang, "British Slave Trading Activities," 27.

such as expensive cloths, silk and gold ornaments were also pawned. A third term, Odonko, was applied to people who had been purchased for the express purpose of enslavement. Prisoners of war and people given in the form of tribute from subjugated powers were often used as nnonko. The fourth term, Domum, denoted enslaved war captives. The last term, Akyere, referred to people living in designated villages who were looked upon as a human reservoir for sacrifices.¹⁰³ To these categories could be added the practice of panyarring--the forcible seizure of a person for debt. If a person became involved in debt and was, either from the want of ability or from whatever motive, dilatory in the discharge of it, the creditor was at liberty "to seize and confine or according to their phrase, panyer," any person or persons belonging to the family of the debtor or even to the same country, state, or town; and if an opportunity were presented they were sold, without delay or ceremony. This destructive practice was carried to such an extent during the slave-trade, that many innocent persons were reduced to servitude or sold overseas.¹⁰⁴ Although

103. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, 34-46.

104. Henry Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast of Africa (London, 1812), 29-30. Also, Thomas Edward Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, 257.

panyarring must have originally been practiced in relation to established customary law, the impact of the Atlantic slavery led to the abuse of the traditional law when individuals were "panyered" and sold overseas.

Slavery existed in many forms and was put to different uses. This was realized by the slave trader Don Theodore Canot who astutely observed:

...the financial genius of Africa, instead of devising bank-notes or the precious metals as a circulating medium, has from time immemorial declared that a human creature--the true representative and embodiment of labour,--is the most valuable article on earth. A man, therefore, becomes the standard of prices. A slave is a note of hand that may be discounted or pawned; he is a bill of exchange that carries himself to his destination and pays a debt bodily; he is a tax that walks corporeally (sic) into the chieftain's treasury.¹⁰⁵

Slavery indeed formed a basic part and played a vital role in the economic life of the people, but the part it played was to be seen in the larger context of the economic life of the people at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Many of the economic activities pursued by the people were affected by European contact and specialization brought about by the process of economic change and development.

The occupations that engaged the people were diverse

105. Theodore Canot, Captain Canot: or Twenty Years of an African Slaver (London, 1854), 105.

and varied, with a large number of the inhabitants involved in the economic activities of collecting, farming, live-stock rearing, fishing, hunting, salt extraction and gold mining. There were also metal workers, potters, wood-workers, cloth makers, not to mention priests, "doctors" and other such "professional" men.¹⁰⁶ Most inhabitants of the coastal region earned a living by fishing, salt or canoe-making. The fish they caught were often dried, cured, packed in loads and carried inland for sale or exchanged for other products. In the interior, fishing activities were carried out along inland rivers and streams and on Lake Bosomtwe in Asante. It was reported that "upwards of thirty small crooms were reckoned situated around it supported by fishing" and that "fish were forwarded thence daily for the King's table, by relays of men."¹⁰⁷ Canoe-making was a necessary appendage to fishing and was widely carried out on the coast.

Salt extraction was another economic activity of consequence for the coast people enlisting the support of most of the small coastal villages. Although there was a salt

106. Carl Christian Reindorf, The History of the Gold Coast and Asante, 2nd ed., reprint (accra, 1966), 261-4; Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 182.

107. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 163.

deposit in the interior beyond Asante at Daboya in ^{Dagomba} ~~central~~ ~~Gambia~~, the people of the Gold Coast seem to have preferred salt from the Coast.¹⁰⁸ Salt was obtained by two methods-- salt boiling and salt pits. Salt water was boiled in earthen pots until the water evaporated leaving a residue of salt. By the salt pit or pans' methods, the latter a technique supposedly introduced by the Portuguese, sea water was normally allowed to run into the pits to be evaporated by the extreme heat of the sun, leaving the salt.¹⁰⁹

Although most of the people produced their own food, the sale of agricultural produce nonetheless constituted an integral economic activity. For people of Akuapem, for example, agriculture was their chief means of support, and they supplied the Accra and Adangbe people with food. In return for their products the Akuapems received salt, dried fish, gunpowder, iron, guns, and cotton manufactures.¹¹⁰ Such a place as Yomoho, in Akyem, supplied the markets of Juaben, Begua, Sarasu, Dumpasi and other places with corn

108. Ibid., 173 and 176.

109. Reindorf, Gold Coast and Asante, 263. George MacDonald, The Gold Coast, Past and Present (London, 1898), 56-57.

110. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 227.

and yams.¹¹¹ The villages near Cape Coast must have also supplied the town with agricultural goods, as "few indeed attended to the labours of the field."¹¹²

Profitable gold washing and mining were carried out in Akyem, Denkyera, Wassaw, Assin, and Asante.¹¹³ Gold was regarded as sacred and life giving, and the people had a propensity to hoard it. Because of its alleged life giving property, it was interred with crops.¹¹⁴ Normally when a nugget of gold was discovered it was taken to the chief, who divided it into three parts and gave a third to the finder.¹¹⁵ In some places two thirds of the gold dug went to the chief.¹¹⁶

111. J. Beecham, Ashantee and the Gold Coast (London, 1841), 137 and Joseph Dupuis, Journal of a Residence in Ashantee, 2 vols. (London, 1853), II, xxxi.

112. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 96.

113. Reindorf, Gold Coast and Asante, 263.

114. Eva L. R. Meyerowitz, The Sacred State of the Akan (London, 1951), 197; Marcus Allen, The Gold Coast or a Cruise in West African Waters (London, 1874), 117. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 32.

115. Meyerowitz, Sacred State of the Akan, 197.

116. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, ch. III, and K. A. Busia, The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political Systems of Ashanti (London, 1951), 81.

Most gold bearing states owned some gold mines that were worked principally by slave labour. When gold was found in a new mine pit, the chief had to be notified, whereupon he provided a sheep for sacrifice while the discoverer supplied fowls, eggs and drinks for libation.¹¹⁷ Menstruating women were not allowed where gold was mined, and in some areas plantains and bananas, regarded as phallic symbols, were forbidden.¹¹⁸

Gold pits about two to three feet in diameter and up to fifty feet deep were often dug in auriferous gravel.¹¹⁹ Besides such pits, upright or steeply sloped shafts were usually sunk in mountainous regions until the miner struck dark and coloured rock which contained gold. The shafts varied in depth, and like the pits were neither timbered nor reinforced at the mouth. The miners worked with a palm oil lamp and cut the ore loose with a pickaxe, hoe, or iron chisel. The bottom of the mine was reached by a rope ladder, by foot-holes in the side of the shaft, or by 50 to 60 annular steps on which men stood to pass up trays full

117. Meyerowitz, Sacred State of the Akan, 198.

118. Ibid., 199.

119. Ibid.

of soil. Shafts located close by each other were often connected by tunnels.¹²⁰ It is likely that quartz mining was introduced on the Gold Coast by the Portuguese in 1630 when they began operations in Aboasi, near Kommenda. The underground workings of these mines were destroyed in 1636 by an earthquake.¹²¹ Probably following the Portuguese example, local people were working auriferous reefs as well as alluvial deposits by the early 18th century.¹²²

Alluvial gold occurred freely in many places and the simplest way of obtaining the metal was by gold washing. This activity was often carried out by women on river banks and other places especially after a heavy fall of rain:

...a quantity of soil is collected near a stream, or at the sea-side, in which gold is known to be, a portion of which is filled with water, and then mixed together; and while the soil is held in solution, a quick rotary motion is given to the calabash, by which means the mixture is made to fly over its side, and the gold, by its specific gravity sinks to the bottom.¹²³

120. Ibid., 200. Also, Junner, Gold on the Gold Coast, 12; W. Rodney, "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast," T.H.S.G., X, 1969.

121. Junner, Gold on the Gold Coast, 6.

122. Ibid., 10.

123. J. Adams, Remarks on the Country Extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo, including Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants, 47; See also Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 119.

Dupuis relates that 8-10,000 slaves were employed during the rainy season on the banks of the Bana stream in Banda to wash for gold.¹²⁴

Hunting on the Gold Coast usually provided game for meat. But the killing of elephants provided more than food: it yielded ivory tusks which were used as ornaments at the courts of chiefs and furnished a readily marketable item of trade in the European commerce on the coast. Although until the nineteenth century ivory was a staple trade on the Gold Coast and West Africa, there is not much information about how elephants were hunted. In general animals hunted on the Gold Coast are classified into two groups: those spiritually dangerous, sasammoa, and those who are not. Some of the spiritually harmful animals are the elephant (esono), the bongo (trom), the bush-cow (eko), the yellow-backed duiker (kwaduo) and the roan (oko). Of all the sasammoa most ^{people} ~~places~~ consider the elephant as the most dangerous. When these animals were killed they were accorded funerals, so that the hunter could cleanse himself of all possible harm from the spirit of the animal.¹²⁵

The hunting of the elephant was not undertaken lightly.

124. Dupuis, Journal, II, lvi.

125. A. G. Fraser, "The Cult of the Kwahu Hunter on the Question of Sasa Animals, especially the Elephant," G.C.R. IV, No. 2 (July-December 1928), 155-6.

A hunter would ^{not} normally commence killing animals that were ~~not~~ spiritually harmful until he acquired a charm (suman) for guidance, safety and success in hunting sasammoa. The suman was not bought, but was discovered in the bowels of animals the hunter had killed. After acquiring a suman, the hunter killed several sasammoa before he felt himself capable of pursuing the greatest of them all--the elephant. In places like Kwahu, a hunter was not admitted to the innermost circle of his profession until he had killed at least three elephants. Although the elephant hunter was accompanied by a group, he usually left it in camp in the forest and sought the animal alone. It was after shooting the animal that he reported the matter to his companions at the camp, and they helped with the elaborate ritual surrounding the killing of an elephant.¹²⁶ Guns were used in hunting, but it is likely that other means (spears, bows and arrows, etc.) were employed before the introduction of firearms on the Gold Coast. By tradition the hunter who killed an elephant had to send the foreleg (basa) and one of the tusks to the chief.¹²⁷ Although the Gold Coast did produce a fair amount of ivory, most of it came from the Gyaman

126. Ibid., 157-65.

127. Busia, Position of the Chief, 49.

area.¹²⁸ Ivory was also obtained from other animals such as the hippopotami. This kind of ivory, which was often very white and brittle, averaged about sixteen inches in length and weighed from four to fifteen pounds.¹²⁹ Small quantities of ivory were referred to as scrivelloes.¹³⁰ Besides elephant hunters, other professional hunters acted as protectors against certain predatory animals. Furthermore, collecting snails and various medicinal and edible plants can be classified as hunting.

Far from having disappeared under the impact of European trade, local indigenous industries were still very important in the nineteenth century. As late as 1865 Elias Shrenk of the Basel Mission said, "If we come to the interior, six days journey, people make their iron and make their own cloth."¹³¹ According to J. Beecham, iron was manufactured to a great extent in Asante and their swords were said to

128. Dupuis, Journal, 49 .

129. Walter Rodney, A History of the Upper Guinea Coast (Oxford, 1970), 157.

130. Ibid.

131. Parl. Papers, 1865, xxxvii, 170; Evidence of Elias Shrank 3295.

show very fine workmanship.¹³² Even though iron works in the interior survived, it seems that iron smelting had almost disappeared on the Gold Coast in the nineteenth century. However, the techniques and traditions used survived well into the twentieth century across the Volta at Akpafu.¹³³ Iron ore often occurred near the surface and consequently shafts or galleries were usually not necessary for mining. Akpafu provides us with one of the few instances of elaborate works of iron mining. To obtain the ore, the people dug vertically, sloping or horizontal shafts and hacked it out with socketed iron celts.¹³⁴ Undoubtedly, iron obtained locally was supplemented by imports from Europe.

Weaving was one of the more vital industries. The simplest cloth available on the Gold Coast was the bark cloth, locally called kyenkyen, made from the bark of the kyenken tree (Antiaris toxicaria). To make the cloths, long narrow barks measuring about a foot ^{wide} were stripped off

132. Beecham, Ashantee and the Gold Coast, 146.

133. Walter Cline, Mining and Metallurgy in Negro Africa (Mensha, 1937), 26.

134. R. S. Rattray, Religion and Art in Ashanti (Oxford, 1927), 309-10. Celts are bronze or stone or iron chisel-edged prehistoric implements.

a tree and, after softening them in water, they were laid over the trunk of a fallen tree and beaten out with wooden mallets. The original width usually trebled after it had been beaten.¹³⁵ Grass cloths were also made at places like Apollonia.¹³⁶

Weaving was probably first introduced in Asante from the north sometime during the seventeenth century. The first loom, a Mande cultural feature, was reported to have been set up near Kumasi at Bonwire, the centre of weaving in Asante for a long time. According to Bonwire tradition, when Salaga came under Asante suzerainty the inhabitants were engaged in growing and spinning cotton for the Bonwire weavers.¹³⁷ Besides Bonwire there were other important weaving centres. It was said that almost the entire population of Asiminia in Asante was engaged in weaving.¹³⁸ The towns of Agotime, Doompasse¹³⁹ and Moisy in Assin¹⁴⁰

135. Ibid., 220.

136. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 271.

137. Rattray, Religion and Art, 220 and 234. Also, see Marion Johnson, "Ashanti East of the Volta," T.H.S.G., VIII (1965), 39.

138. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 30.

139. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 28.

140. Dupuis, Journal, I, 50.

Datchanso¹⁴¹ and Saresso¹⁴² all subsisted by weaving. On the Gold Coast weaving was confined to the male sex, while the spinning of the cotton used was exclusively the work of women. The loom was employed in weaving with the web from the loom about four inches in width and the finished cloth normally consisting of narrow strips sewed together.¹⁴³

The pottery industry--the source of cooking utensils, water pots, pipes and other wares--was also essential. In Asante Tafo, Pankrono, Obuokrom, Dataise,¹⁴⁴ and Ekwea there were important centres of the pottery industry. Nearer to the coast Shai was perhaps the best known area for pottery, with its people supplying all their neighbours. The Krobos who resided near the Shai people also manufactured pottery.¹⁴⁵ In other areas, Moisy in Assin and Osino in Akyem were important. Nineteenth century

141. Ibid., 59.

142. Ibid., 68.

143. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 29 and Rattray, Religion and Art, 301-2.

144. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 311; Beecham, Ashantee and the Gold Coast, 147 and Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 11 and 270.

145. See Hugo Huber, The Krobo: the Traditional, Social and Religious Life of a West African People (St. Augustin, 1963).

travellers were impressed by the quality of Gold Coast pottery.¹⁴⁶

Tanning and leatherwork figured prominently in local industry. Leather was prepared and worked in Asante, but it was said that leather goods coming from countries behind Asante were superior. From this industry emerged items like sandals, cushions, belts, pouches, saddles, and cases for knives or swords.¹⁴⁷ Goldsmiths were also found throughout the country manufacturing trinkets, chains and other ornaments.¹⁴⁸ Carving, another common industry, produced canoes, stools, drums, wooden spoons, pestles, and mortars for pounding the popular fufu.¹⁴⁹

Occupational specialization was the result of many factors and was sometimes regional. For example, a region addicted to waging war and raiding for the purpose of securing hostages for the slave trade might often depend upon a peace-loving sedentary people devoted to agricultural pursuits. Akwamu at the height of its fame was devoted to

146. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 311.

147. Ibid. and MacDonald, Gold Coast, 56.

148. Dupuis, Journal, II, lviii and Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 311.

149. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 313 and Beecham, Asantee and the Gold Coast, 147.

warfare and yet had to obtain food supplies from neighbours engaged in agricultural pursuits. Again, when gold-mining states like Akyem directed most of ^{their} ~~its~~ energy to gold digging, ^{they} ~~it~~ had to buy quantities of foodstuffs from neighbouring states.¹⁵⁰

It would appear from the occupations and economic activities prevalent on the Gold Coast that by the beginning of the nineteenth century a remarkable degree of specialization had been attained. For example, trading activities on the coast had brought about certain occupational specialization which not only produced skilled and semi-skilled workers like masons, carpenters, bricklayers and other types of work associated with trade, but also stimulated local industries like canoe-making and agricultural production to feed those engaged in other pursuits.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, in places inland like Asante, as the Asante Empire grew, many artisans converged upon the capital and groups of villages were organized into what could be termed as guilds to carry on with the pottery, weaving, metal-work, carving and other crafts for the Asantehene.¹⁵² This

150. Dickson, Historical Geography of Ghana.

151. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 103.

152. Rattray, Religion and Art, 310.

shows a level of specialization with a shift from primary to secondary economic activity.¹⁵³ It is this economic specialization as well as economic surplus that brings markets into existence. Belshaw has observed:

The market does not come into existence to enable persons to dispose of surpluses. It comes into existence as a function of the division of labor, so that those who concentrate on production of one sort may obtain the produce of others. Division of labor has economic exchange implications, but it is a social phenomenon...The notion of economic surplus is a red herring because only chance accident can produce a surplus over and above the planned expectations of the producer, who markets to obtain specific, needed, goals. ¹⁵⁴

Markets formed an important part of the economic landscape of the Gold Coast in the nineteenth century. The use of the term market is two fold in this context: first, as an institution or a place where people meet at appointed times to trade and exchange goods;¹⁵⁵ second, it is

153. P. T. Bauer and B. S. Yamey, The Economies of Under-Developed Countries (London, 1957), 40; Bert F. Hoselitz, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth (Chicago, 1960), 55. In his book Hoselitz has pointed out that apparent specialization of occupations can be deceptive because while the economic role performed in developed economies tends to be specific those in societies on a lower level of economic advancement are normally diffuse.

154. C. S. Belshaw, Traditional Markets and Modern Exchange (New York, 1965), 78; see also, B. W. Hodder and U. I. Ukwu, Markets in West Africa (Ibadan, 1969), 19.

155. See Polly Hill, "Notes on Traditional Market Authority and Market Periodicity in West Africa," J.A.H. VII, 2 (1966), 295-311 and Belshaw, Traditional Markets, 6-8.

employed in relation to the principle of market exchange where price or exchange is determined by the forces of supply and demand.¹⁵⁶ It is significant that a fair amount of goods traded never found their way to markets but were sold in private, as was frequently the case with transactions like the sale of ivory and slaves.¹⁵⁷ Even in modern times, items like cocoa never find their way to the market place. As institutions, markets served two major functions: "to move consumer goods through exchange cycles between areas that were not self-sufficient in their economy; and, more particularly, to serve as bulking and wholesale centres for professional long-distance traders dealing in rarer and more valuable commodities."¹⁵⁸

Three types of markets delineated on the Gold Coast were indicative of stages in their evolution. In the first place, there was the traditional site where food-stuffs and locally manufactured tools (pots and other goods) with

156. Bohannan and Dalton, Markets in Africa, 1.

157. Belshaw, Traditional Markets, 75 and Sundstrom, Guinea Trade, 31.

158. Colin W. Newbury, "Trade and Authority in West Africa from 1850-1880," in Gann and Duigan, History of Colonialism, 67.

an almost age old position in the local subsistence economy could be obtained. While the use of "currency" on this level was by no means absent, exchange might be based on the principle of reciprocity. Secondly, there was the regional or specialized market where goods locally unobtainable could be secured. Abonce, for example, was an early regional market of the people of Accra where they used to trade with Akyem, Akwamu, and Kwahu.¹⁵⁹ There were also markets like Fosu and Mansu which owed their rise and former importance to the slave trade.¹⁶⁰ Thirdly, there were market towns or emporia like Salaga which were major termini of long distance trade. The growth of the second and third categories were indices of the differentiation of subsistence economy and the emergence of what could be described as a "money" factor or the market principle, by which means exchange took place on the basis of the interplay of the forces of supply and demand. Salaga was a market which was the terminus of a long distance trade. The former coastal villages which European commerce turned into important commercial centres were also markets of

159. E. Tilleman, En Liden Enfoldig Beretning om Landskab Guinea (Kobenhavn, 1697), 32-33.

160. Dupuis, Journal, I, 17 and 59.

importance resorted to by the people of the interior.

Besides market centres, there ^{were} ~~was~~ what could be described as moving markets, consisting of traders buying and selling merchandize as they went up and down the country.

Periodicity was an important element of local African markets. It has been observed that "at the lowest level, periodicity may well have been the necessary result of a relative lack of specialization among women farmers and food processors."¹⁶¹ In West Africa, except for the large urban centres, markets were held only periodically. The standard market week in most places in West Africa was often 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, or 8 days in length. 4 and 7^{day}/₇ markets were the most common in West Africa, the latter being most prominent on the Gold Coast.¹⁶² Periodic markets have the economic function of collecting, bulking and distributing local products.

Communications were essential if trade items were to reach their destined markets, and numerous routes provided links with all the important centres of commerce in every province of the country. These routes were, for the most

161. Newbury, "Trade and Authority," in Gann and Duigan, History of Colonialism, 67.

162. Hill, "Notes on Traditional Market Authority and Market Periodicity in West Africa," 300-304.

part, mere narrow bush paths through the forest, often overgrown with weeds or blocked by fallen trees. During the rainy season some became small water courses. Trade along the paths depended almost entirely upon the peaceable condition of the country and was frequently closed through the exigencies of war and coastal politics.¹⁶³ The only means of practicable transportation of goods along the routes depended upon expensive head portage.

Our knowledge of the trade routes at the beginning of the nineteenth century derives mainly from the travels of T. E. Bowdich and Joseph Dupuis to Asante in 1817 and 1820, respectively.¹⁶⁴ Kumasi, the capital of Asante, with its large share of the commerce of the early nineteenth century, was the focal point from whence radiated five major routes southward. The first route running southward was the most westerly route, the Aowin path which passed through the forest leading to Apollonia, Assinee, and Grand Bassam. A second western route was the Wassa path which went through Denkyira to Wassaw and thence branched into two directions: one to the Elmina, Komenda and Shama area while the other

163. Dupuis, Journal, II, xxvii.

164. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 162; Dupuis, Journal, II, xxvii.

branch went through Ahanta to Cape Three Points and the European settlements like Dixcove and Akwida in that area. A third track was the Assin route which led to the Fante coast. This route bifurcated at Dunkwa with one branch leading to Anomabo and another going to Mouree in the vicinity of Cape Coast Castle. The fourth link with the coast was the Accra route which went through Akuapem to the coast at Accra.¹⁶⁵

The routes to the coast provided communications not only for the province through which they passed, but also for the coastal area and the European settlements located there. The commercial significance of these routes is underlined by the fact that most of them went through the rich gold mining districts of the western region and Akyem and then to the areas with heavy concentration of European forts. European goods as well as indigenous produce penetrated the interior markets along these routes.

There was another network of four main tracks that led out from Kumasi northward.¹⁶⁶ One major inland road from

165. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 162-9. See Dupuis' Journal, II, appendix no. III, 482-3.

166. See Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 482-3 and Dupuis' Journal, II, xxviii.

Asante was the Bontuku path. It led northwest from Kumasi to Isuta and Nkwanta and westward to ~~Bontuku~~^{Bonduku} and beyond. A second route led west through Nkoranza to Kintampo at which point the route intersected the Salaga-~~Bontuku~~^{Bonduku} road. From Kintampo the route crossed the Black Volta near the Gonja market town of Buipe and thence to Daboya. A third route, the "old road" to Salaga, was a path also known as Amanianpong Temporn, Amanianpong's highway,¹⁶⁷ which passed through Mampong, Ejura, and Atebubu, crossing the Volta near Yeji to Salaga. Another route rarely used and described as hazardous that linked Kumasi and Abomey passed through Kwahu and Brong country and transversed the Volta at Odente near Kete Krakye. Apart from the major routes, there were numerous others that criss-crossed the country joining various sections.¹⁶⁸ Besides those routes there was a road cut between Kumasi and Gaman in 1819 when Asante was fighting against them.¹⁶⁹

The Volta provided communication too for the interior. Boats carrying salt normally destined for Salaga from Ada

167. Kwame Arhin, ed., Ashanti Northeast (Legon, 1970), 1.

168. Dupuis, Journal, II, xxvii-xxix.

169. Ibid.

plied their trade along the Volta. Upon leaving Ada at the mouth of the Volta River, the people sailed up the river on what was reckoned to be an eleven day journey to Odentee where it became too rocky for canoes. From Odente traders journied four days on foot to Salaga.¹⁷⁰

East of the Volta on the Anlo coast there were tracks radiating from the coastal towns eventually connecting with the great long distance routes of the interior. The first of these trade paths linking Anlo with Krepi in the interior and beyond was the route going from Keta northwards which led from Sadame on the Keta lagoon through Adaklu, Waya, Peki, Ho, Kpando, Nkonya, and Buem to Salaga. A branch of this path went from Kpene and Ho through Abutia and crossed the Volta to Akyem country. Further east another route led from Begida and later Lome to Agome--Palime, Kpando, Krakje, and Yendi.¹⁷¹ Despite the network of communication in the country, the Gold Coast was not well-served by its river-system as ²/means of transport, and ^{it}/lacked good natural harbours. The difficulty of unloading cargo~~d~~ on surf-bound coasts where ships had to stand out far from the beach,

170. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 177. Also, see Marion Johnson, Salaga Papers (Institute of African Studies, Legon, 1968), 2 vols.

171. D. E. K. Amenumey, "Geraldo de Lima: a Reappraisal," T.H.S.G., IX (1968), 67; D. E. K. Amenumey, "The Extention of British Rule to Anlo (South-East Ghana), 1850-1890," J.A.H. IX, 1 (1968), 99-117--see map on 100.

was going to be a real factor in the slow development of the country's economy right down to the building of Takoradi harbour in the 1920's.

It is obvious from the wide network of trade routes at the beginning of the century that the interior trade and markets were of vital significance. Along the littoral, the coastal people exported inland, via the ^{land} routes and the Volta River, dried fish, salt, and European goods. Salt imported by Asante from the coast was re-exported to Kong, Bonduku, Salaga and beyond.¹⁷² Salt secured from the inland deposits at Daboya was exported mainly to Dagomba and Mamprusi.¹⁷³ European goods like liquor, firearms and cloth reached Asante, and were sent from there to interior markets. Items like kola and gold found their way to the northern markets. The kola nut, a stimulant, was the staple commodity of Asante trade with the north and was in popular demand as far afield as Tripoli and the Fezzan. The famous interior market of Salaga owed its reputation as a trading centre to the kola trade.

172. L. G. Binger, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée (Paris, 1892), 2 vols., I, 375, II, 51, 100 and 140; Bosman, New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea, 321; Donnan, Documents, II, 188.

173. Binger, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée, I, 315.

From the interior markets along the southward routes came slaves, shea butter, cloth, leather goods and other products. A large number of the slaves required for domestic purposes, normally referred to as Donko (nnonko in the plural), were secured from the northern markets. According to Bowdich "Most of the slaves in Coomassie, were sent as part of the annual tribute of Inta, Dagwumba and their neighbours to Ashantee; many were kidnapped, and for the few who were bought, I was assured by several respectable Ashantee, 2,000 cowries, or one basket of Boossee (kola) was the greatest price given."¹⁷⁴ Shea butter imported from the north was used in cooking and for oiling the skin. Cloth was a significant item of export from the interior originating from Dagomba and Inta countries,¹⁷⁵ as well as from Kano and Bonduku.¹⁷⁶ Leather goods like sandals and pouches of fine workmanship were brought to Salaga by caravans from Kano, Marawa, Sokoto and various countries on the banks of the Niger and on the shores of Lake Chad.

¹⁷⁴. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 332-333.

¹⁷⁵. Ibid., 334 and Binger, Du Niger au Golfe de Guinée, II, 168.

¹⁷⁶. M. J. Bonnat, L'Explorateur (Paris, 1876), III, 1-3, quoted in Marion Johnson, Salaga Papers, Sal/34/1.

Such diverse items as girdles of silk manufactured by Africans, farming implements, sheep and cattle, all found their way from the African interior to markets of Greater Asante like Salaga. It was even said that "when the road to the coast is closed, it is possible to procure from this market (Salaga) powder and guns, but only at a very high price."¹⁷⁷ The importance of the interior routes cannot be over-stressed: intra and inter-state trade which provided the various necessities of life also moved along these routes. It is not known to what extent trade among the coastal people and other West African peoples were carried out by sea but traders from Dahomey were reported at Anomabo late in the nineteenth century.¹⁷⁸

Tolls were levied on traders using the trade routes.¹⁷⁹ In Apollonia it was said that before a trader commenced activities he gave the chief an annual gift after which he was free to carry on his trade to any extent.¹⁸⁰ Often

177. Ibid.

178. P. Labarthe, Voyage à la Côte de Guinée (Paris, 1803), 71.

179. Beecham, Ashantee and the Gold Coast, 101; Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 320 and Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 69.

180. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 69.

tolls could possibly have taken the form of gift exchange between host and guest. In this way while travelling through a country a trader might show his appreciation by giving a present to the man providing him with accommodation as well as ^{to} the sovereign offering him a safe conduct through his territory. In a recent collection of oral traditions by a Ghanaian historian, the people of Assin Nyankumasi denied they ever paid tolls to anyone on their way to the north to trade, but they showed gratitude for hospitality by presenting a gift: "Nobody paid anything to anybody. If you wanted to sleep in any town you just went to any house and asked for a place to sleep and food to cook and eat. In the morning nothing was demanded but you showed your gratitude by offering some of your salt."¹⁸¹ Although the quotation underlines the propensity to hospitality, the salt given in gratitude was a valued commodity and was no mean present for a night's accommodation.

When Dupuis suggested that the Asantehene make his capital the depot for British manufactured goods and African produce in addition to levying customs on goods passing through Asante, the chief refused ^{to agree,} saying that

181. K. Y. Daaku, Oral Traditions of Assin-Twifo, Traditions of Assin-Nyankumasi, 13 and Traditions of Assin-Nyanter-Kyikrom, 3.

Asante custom was different:

None but kings and great men trade here, the same as myself. Sometimes I lend them gold, if they are good people; and then I cannot say, give me the gold back. If they come from another country to trade in Coomassy, they make friends, and give me a present; then, to be sure, I cannot tell them to give me gold, when they buy and sell the goods. Besides, some traders are kings' sons and brothers, and great captains: I must not say to them, give me gold, but I must give them gold and provisions, and send them home happy and rich, that it may be known in other countries that I am a great king, and know what is right. 182

It has been suggested that the Asantehene's (Osei Bonsu) attitude towards the toll signified his intension of offering favourable conditions of trade to Muslims for the development of the trade north of Asante.¹⁸³ However, this attitude may point to the fact that there was nothing rigid about toll collection.

Despite the Asantehene's disclaimer of collecting tolls, there is ample evidence at various points on the Gold Coast of Asante toll posts reported at Ahenkro,¹⁸⁴ Ansa,¹⁸⁵ and Mamfe in Akuapem. It is probable that the

182. Dupuis, Journal, I, 167.

183. Ivor Wilks, "Asante Policy towards the Hausa Trade in the Nineteenth Century," in Meillassoux, Development of African Trade, 6.

184. C3386, 1882.

185. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 320.

payment represented a recognition of sovereignty of the ruler through whose region a trader was passing and the toll, whatever form it took, was a tribute to the ruler. Once a local chief accepted tolls he was bound by the laws of hospitality to give the trader every protection possible. It is even said that chiefs who contemplated robbing traders often refused toll payments.¹⁸⁶

The amount of road toll paid might have been based on the value of goods and the standing of the chief of the territory, but the tolls were probably affected by the fighting potential of the collector and the person paying. Transit dealers sometimes paid tolls in both directions between the coast and the inland country, but tolls were levied more often in only one direction.¹⁸⁷ Bowdich mentioned a tax paid in gold on all slaves purchased for the coast. Furthermore, customs levied near Ansa in Assin¹⁸⁸ were paid in gold by all traders returning from the coast. Tolls were not only paid on routes, but also on ferrying across the rivers. In the Asante kola trade north, the

186. Sundstrom, Guinea Trade, 9.

187. Ibid., 10.

188. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 320.

duty was 25 kola nuts.¹⁸⁹

Trade on the Gold Coast was state-oriented and was often a royal monopoly. Rattray wrote that "A fruitful source of revenue in the olden days was trading, in which some stools had a kind of temporary monopoly."¹⁹⁰ It has been suggested that the reason for this was not the result of a state policy, but rather the consequence of the heavy outlay needed to fit out trading expeditions engaging carriers to headload the goods, hiring men to protect the party and paying tolls along the routes.¹⁹¹ Chiefs and rulers could take a larger part in trading activities because of the wealth and purchasing power accumulated from their stool estates.¹⁹²

Asante trade to the north was mainly in kola, and imports from the north consisted of slaves, livestock and shea butter. Asante exports to the coast consisted primarily of slaves and gold dust in return for liquor, firearms, metal rods and salt. In Asante trading for the chief

189. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, 109-12.

190. Ibid., 109.

191. Dickson, Historical Geography, 106.

192. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 32-34.

on the coast and north was conducted by such groups as the Akyeremadefo (drummers), the Asokwafo (horn blowers), the Asoainfo (hammock carriers) and the Agwarefo (bathroom attendants). In the kola trade these groups carried the King's kola in loads consisting of between 1,500-2,000 nuts. Each carrier was allowed any extra amount of kola he could carry in addition to the King's. This extra load was called nsitiri (place on top). The trade routes to the north were first thrown open by the Omanhene's men to the King's traders and then they were closed for twenty days until the traders had disposed of the King's kola. It was because of the carriers' access to the early market for any surplus kola they could bring that there was often competition to convey the chief's kola. After reopening the routes, all other traders going north had to pay twenty-five kola nuts, of which twenty went to the King and five to the heralds who collected it, whereas no toll was levied on imports from the north.¹⁹³

In the Asante division of Asumegya, trade in kola was carried out by the Asokwafo (horn blowers) after the Asantehene opened the road.¹⁹⁴ In another division, Bekwai,

193. Rattray, Ashanti Law and Constitution, 109-111.

194. Ibid., 140.

which had no kola, the Asokwafo (horn blowers) were the chief's traders. They went to the coast to purchase cloth, beads and salt which were sold in Bontuku and Salaga. In return they bought slaves, shea butter, cloth, and cotton to be retailed at Kumasi with profits from these transactions going to the stool. Although the Asokwafo were not paid, they often became rich from profits they reaped from each transaction for the King.¹⁹⁵ In Juabin kola trade was carried out by the Asokwafo and Akyenemadefo (horn blowers and drummers' companies) who profited by carrying extra kola to sell in their own behalf.¹⁹⁶ In Kokofu and Kumawu the trade for the stool was carried out by the Asokwafo (horn blowers).¹⁹⁷

While the bulk of the population was free to participate in trade in places like Asante, access to the coast and inland markets was often controlled. Reasons for this,

195. Ibid., 160.

196. Ibid., 185-6.

197. Ibid., 211 and 228.

no doubt, were to prevent both the acquisition of firearms by the states in the hinterland of Asante and the rise of a rich merchant class. As Bowdich observed, Asante placed these restrictions on commerce:

...lest their genius for war might be enervated by it, and lest, either from the merchants increasing to a body too formidable for their wishes to be resisted, or too artful from their experience to be detected, they might sacrifice the national honour and ambition to their avarice, and furnishing Inta, Dagwumba, or any of their more powerful neighbours (who have yielded to circumstances rather than force) with guns and powder (which are never allowed to be exported from Ashantee,) break the spell of their conquests, and undermine their power.¹⁹⁸

Bowdich further wrote:

Were they to encourage commerce, pomp, the idol of which they are most jealous, would soon cease to be their prerogative, because it would be attainable by others; the traders growing wealthy, would vie with them;¹⁹⁹ and for their own security, stimulated by reflections they have now too little at risk to originate, they would unite to repress the arbitrary power of the Aristocracy; and even if they did not, inevitably (as the chiefs conceive) divert the people's genius for war. ²⁰⁰

Although Bowdich may have exaggerated his case, the underlying point was clear that most of the trade was in the hands of the ruling class, and that advancement in the state

198. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 335.

199. Compare this statement with the rise of the African merchant class and the decline of the power of chiefs in ch. IV.

200. Ibid., 295.

was achieved through military prowess and not through trade.

Asante, however, encouraged rising captains to trade, and it was probably for this reason that the King distributed gold every forty days to enable them to trade, to acquire wealth, to experience the positions of responsibility to be conferred upon them and to bind them closer to him.

It is a frequent practice of the King's, to consign sums of gold to the care of rising captains, without requiring them from them for two or three years, at the end of which time he expects the captain not only to restore the principal, but to prove that he has acquired sufficient of his own, from the use of it, to support the greater dignity the King would confer on him.²⁰¹

In Asante the very considerable revenue that accrued to the state from trade and other sources like tribute and tolls led to the establishment of an elaborate bureaucracy of finance.²⁰² This system seems to have been introduced

201. Ibid., 295.

202. On sources of revenue to chiefs, E. J. P. Brown writes that: Among the Akan tribes the king's revenue was raised in kind, from war indemnity taxes, called Adanprantuw; from slaves (prisoners of war), some of whom were enlisted as soldiers or sold; from the swearing of oaths, the fines in connection therewith were collected by the King's Nhinkuwa--that is, personal servants of his house-hold. Outside Asianti, in the old days, Abayin Nyir (male wives)--that is, consuls--were created by the kings of Asianti to collect their fines and war indemnity taxes. Revenue was also raised from ferries and land tributes in various forms; besides court fees, death duties and oral bequests by chiefs and other noblemen, to the kings." The Gold Coast and Asianti Reader, 2 vols., I (London, 1929), 185-6.

under the rule of the Asantehene Osei Kwadwo (1764-1777). The key position in this bureaucracy was the Gyaasewa stool, and the Gyassewahene assumed both the financial responsibility of the Asante Empire and the keeping of the treasury.²⁰³ Bowdich has left a description of the function of a Gyassewahene:

Apokoo is the keeper of the royal treasury, and has the care of all the tributes, which are deposited, separately, in a large apartment of the palace, of which he only has the key...Apokoo holds a sort of exchequer court at his own house daily,...to decide all cases affecting tribute or revenue, and the appeal to the King is seldom resorted to.²⁰⁴

Under the Gyaasewahene were a number of lesser officials, including the Sanahene, who saw to the actual payment to and from the treasury. Below the Sanahene in rank were the Fotuosanfo, who were the "cashiers" or "weighers", and groups responsible for collecting tributes. Then there was the Batafo, made up of Asokwafo and Akyeremadefo, who were responsible for state trading. There was also the Nkwansrafo, consisting mainly of road wardens who exercised control over the passage of traders and over immigration.²⁰⁵ It is evident that chiefs and kings achieved considerable wealth,

203. Wilks, Ashanti Government, 214.

204. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 296.

205. Wilks, Ashanti Government, 217-8.

but they could not accumulate the capital they amassed for their own personal use. Whatever they received was in turn redistributed as presents to the elders and their subjects.²⁰⁶ It would seem that the substantial revenue derived from fines, trade and other sources necessarily implies a differential as opposed to subsistence economy. The whole treasury system of Asante and gold weights show a sophisticated economic system. In this context, it is meaningful to speak of Asante economy as a national economy.

The use of money was not absent in the commercial activities of Gold Coast society, and beads (bota) seem to have been one of the original currencies of the Gold Coast.²⁰⁷ Even when they ceased to be used as currency, they continued to be of great value. A report of 1883 noted that: "What are known as Aggri beads are usually met with among the tribes on the Gold Coast, are highly valued by them, and form part of the royal jewels of the Kings of Ashantee; their manufacture is a lost art, and generally supposed to

206. Busia, Position of the Chief, 50-1. The distribution of wealth by chiefs among their subjects was a common practice in West Africa. C. W. Newbry, writes, "It must be remembered that much of the accumulated wealth of West African States was disbursed in hospitality, ceremonies and rewards. "Trade and Authority," in Gann and Duigan, History of Colonialism, 75.

207. Meyerowitz, Sacred State of the Akan, 203.

be of ancient Phoenician origin; they have probably been given in barter for slaves, gold dust and nuggets; they fetch at the present day an equal weight in gold, and the rarer sorts one-and-a-half to twice their weight in gold dust."²⁰⁸

An iron currency, called nnaabo, had also been in use before the 1700's, but after this period gold and cowrie shells came into use.²⁰⁹ Some 25 of these ^{pieces of} ~~iron currencies~~ ^y were discovered on the Gold Coast in 1935 in Odumase, 40 miles southeast of Kumasi. These ^{pieces of} ~~currencies~~ ^y were in the form of a disc and were described thus: "The discs are roughly circular with a diameter varying from 2 5/8 inches to 2 7/8 inches. Their thickness varies from 1/8 to 3/16 inch."²¹⁰ Prior to this discovery, a District Commissioner had noticed pieces of iron, about 2" by 2 1/2", stored away within the precincts of the 'palace' of the Omanhene of Juaben. The officer was informed that they were iron currency, formerly made at Juaben and issued under the authority of the Omanhene.²¹¹

208. John Edward Price, "O-Aggri Beads," J.A.I., XII, (1883), 64.

209. Meyerowitz, Sacred State of the Akan, 203.

210. R. P. Wild, "Iron Disc Currency from Ashanti," Man, No. 99 (May 1936), 78.

211. Ibid., 79; Paul Einzig, Primitive Money (London, 1949), 154.

Gold dust was the principal currency in Asante and in the western region, and cowrie shells passed for currency east of Accra. Gold as currency on the Gold Coast was used not only by the Royal African Company in paying the company's employees but ^{who} were often obliged to use gold to buy slaves.²¹² However, whether or not one could view gold dust and cowries as money is still a debatable question. Money is generally viewed as serving at least ~~three~~ ^{five} basic functions: (1) a medium of exchange and/or store of value; (2) purchasing power; (3) liquid or short-term capital; (4) liquid reserves in general; (5) units of value.²¹³ Where currency does not meet all the general functions of money it may be called "special purpose money."²¹⁴ Or one could simply refer to it as substitute money; where currency meets the function of money it may be called "general purpose money."²¹⁵ It has been argued that money is not a

212. Davies, Royal African Company, 225.

213. Belshaw, Traditional Markets, 9; Paul Bohannon, "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy," J.E.H., XIX, 4 (December, 1959), 491; Bohannon and Dalton, Markets in Africa, 11-12.

214. Bohannon, "Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy," 491.

215. Ibid.

physical entity in essence and that credit which is really an abstraction is viewed as part of money supply in the Western world; but seemingly liquidity is more important in defining money as the functions of money attest. Thus as credit, stocks, shares, mortgages, and real property can be accepted as liquid enough to take on the functions of money²¹⁶ there is no reason why gold and cowrie currency on the Gold Coast should be called "special purpose money" instead of money pure and simple.

The common denominators of gold used in trade were as follows:

12 takus = 1 ackie = (5s)
 16 ackies = 1 ounce = (L4)
 2 ounces = 1 benda = (L8) 217

By this reckoning gold dust was valued at L4 an ounce until it was changed to L3 12s; this was subdivided into sixteen ackies which amounted to 5s each. This was further divided into 12 takus of 5d each. The common denominators

216. Belshaw, Traditional Markets, 9-10.

217. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 183; Daaku, Trade and Politics, 36; Robert Chalmers, A History of Currency in the British Colonies (London, 1893), 212. See also K. Polanyi, "Sortings and 'Ounce Trade' in the West African Slave Trade," J.A.H. V, No. 3 (1964), 381-95; M. Johnson, "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade," 197-214.

of gold weights of cowries were:

40 cowries = 1 string
 5 strings = 1 bunch
 10 bunches = 1 head = 1 ackey
 2,000 cowries = 1 ackey of gold
 16 ackies = 1 ounce of gold
 1 ounce of gold = L4 218

According to Meredith, during the plentiful season from September to April or May, a labouring man "may subsist abundantly on two strings of cowries or two pence farthing, a day."²¹⁹ In areas where gold was in use the weights of the chiefs were one third heavier than those belonging to the people. Bowdich explained this:

It is to be observed that the King's weights are one third heavier than the current weights of the country; and all the gold expended in provision being weighed out in the former, and laid out in the latter, the difference enriches the chamberlain, cook, and chief domestic officers of the palace, as it is thought derogatory to a King avowedly to pay his subjects for their services.²²⁰

The Gold Coast economies at the beginning of the nineteenth century were not static, but were highly developed with commercial organization, a system of trade,

218. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 183; Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 330.

219. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 183.

220. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 293.

trade routes and markets. Although the market principle was not absent in the economy, land which was communally owned was not actively involved in this principle. The use of currencies and the sale of labour, even though limited, were present. There was also some trade by barter, but even then it was often based on established rates of exchange.²²¹

The often painted picture of a static African economic development which used to be perceived in sharply contrasting terms of an inward-looking subsistence economy--as opposed to the world-wide market economy--does not hold true for the Gold Coast.²²² This view distorts the nature of the economic situation of the Gold Coast which was between a subsistence and a full-fledged modern market economy. Attempts to place it rigidly at a given state of development are very misleading. "The

221. For more on this exchange, see Johnson, "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade," 197-214.

222. For such a picture, see Bohannan and Dalton, Markets in Africa. This view has been challenged in J. R. Gray and David Birmingham's Pre-Colonial African Trade Essays on Trade in Central and East Africa before 1900 (London, 1970). Another book that questions the static picture of non-Western economies is Cyril S. Belshaw, Traditional Markets. See, too, Jack Goody, Technology, Tradition, and the State in Africa, 23-24.

concept of non-monetary economics is hardly applicable to pre-colonial Africa, with the possible exception of certain hunting groups of minimal importance," writes Jack Goody. "In West Africa the medieval empires of the Niger bend were built up on the trade which brought salt, cloth, and beads south from the Sahara across to West Africa and took gold and ivory and slaves back to the Barbary Coast and from there into medieval Europe."²²³

Goody further submits:

From the point of view of mercantile economy, parts of Africa were not dissimilar to Western Europe of the same period. Metal coinage was in use on the East African coast. In the West, currencies consisted of gold, brass, salt, but more especially cowrie shells which coming as they did from the Maldive Islands off the south of Ceylon, filled most of the necessary attributes of money. In certain respects this was a monetary economy. Trade was highly organized and in kingdoms such as Dahomey and Ashanti important sectors of the economy were under state control, whereas in the savannah regions exchange was left largely in private (Muslim) hands. Most of the kinds of economic operations that were found in pre-industrial Europe were also to be found in Africa: even in the stateless societies of the interior, barter had been superseded by more complex forms of exchange, and production was rarely limited to subsistence alone; the extensive use of cowries from the Maldives and carnelians from Gujerat shows that they were all in some degree part of the economic system of the Old World. ²²⁴

223. Goody, Technology and the State in Africa, 23. See also Wilks, "A Medieval Trade Route from the Niger to the Gulf of Guinea."

224. Goody, Technology and the State in Africa, 24.

Thus the idea of regarding the Gold Coast economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century as one of solely subsistence must be rejected. Elements of a modern economy were not lacking and as Dr. Newbury has observed: "It is difficult to think of any West African community which relied solely on subsistence crops and lacked the simplest surplus for gifts, tribute and trade."²²⁵

Furthermore, the distinction between local trade, regional and external trade is not always helpful²²⁶ because these sectors often overlapped. Besides, indigenous traders often participated in the external trade while they maintained and controlled the local internal and interior trade. Writing on the Gold Coast trade, Henry Meredith has said:

Trade consists in purchasing from Europeans, in exchange for gold, cowries, and a few other articles, East Indian cotton goods, iron, lead, spirits, tobacco, tobacco pipes, guns, gunpowder, vessels of brass, and barter or retail these articles with their countrymen, and persons from the interior for gold, provisions, palm wine and palm oil.²²⁷

The Gold Coast economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century was indeed a market-oriented one with features

225. Newbury, "Trade and Authority," in Gann and Duigan, History of Colonialism, 67.

226. Compare with the "village" and "regional" trade of J. Vansina, "Long-Distance Trade-Routes in Central Africa," J.A.H. III, 3 (1962), 375-390. Compare also with West African farmers who produce both for subsistence and cast in Polly Hill, Rural Capitalism in West Africa (London, 1970), 3.

227. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 183.

of a modern economy. This is not to suggest, however, that the majority of the people derived a livelihood from the market principle; but the development of the internal trade as well as the impact of the Atlantic slave trade had brought about significant changes and the removal of the latter commerce was going to leave a serious gap in the economy of the Gold Coast.

CHAPTER II

ABOLITION, AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1807-1828

Abolishing the Atlantic slave trade was a gradual process, and the act of 1807 rarely meant an end to the trade, which persisted through the 1860's. The illegality of the trade led slave dealers to keep most of their activities concealed with the result that it is a subject on which historians can never be clearly informed.¹

Prior to 1793, when the maritime war began in Europe, slave trading between the Senegal River and the Volta River on the Gold Coast was wholly in the hands of the English, French, Dutch, and Americans. In 1795 during the war the French and the Dutch were almost driven from the trade in this area; thus when it was abolished in 1807 England and America were the major participants. The abolition of the slave trade by these two nations however diminished the exports from this area and consequently affected Portuguese activities. Before abolition Portugal had its ships confined to the Bight of Benin and the area south of it, but as a result of the diminution of the number of slave ships and the reduction in prices on the

1. Curtin, Atlantic Slave Trade, 231.

Windward and Gold Coasts following abolition, they were drawn to that area.²

When the British Abolition Act of March 25, 1807 took effect, the slave trade had been declining for almost two decades.³ Preceding Great Britain, a Danish royal ordinance of 1792 had made the trade illegal for Danes after January 1, 1803.⁴ Other countries to outlaw it were the United States in 1808, Portugal in 1815, and Spain in 1817. The last two countries agreed to confine their activities to South of the Equator. When the British Act became effective, subjects who participated in the trade were liable to a £100 fine for every slave found on board their ships and to the forfeiture of their vessels. In 1811

2. African Institution, 13th Report, 1819, Appendix A, 56-60. Queries proposed by Viscount Castlereagh to, and Answers of, the African Institution in London: December, 1816. Answer to Questions 3 and 4.

3. Curtin, Atlantic Slave Trade, 221. For the period 1781-1790 the French and English slave exports from the Gold Coast amounted to 59,900; from 1791-1800, 29,400 and from 1801-1810, 22,100. See chart on p.78 in Chapter I.

4. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 183. Although there was no large-scale shipment of slaves in Danish ships some vessels exceeded the 1803 time limit. It was not until 1805 that the Danish coastal authorities declared that the slave trade was no longer allowed.

the United States declared the human traffic an act of piracy and made it a capital crime, but this law was not enforced until 1861 during the Presidency of Abraham Lincoln. Britain passed a similar act in 1824, but in 1837 the sentence of death was reduced to that of transportation.⁵

From the time of British abolition in 1807 to 1810 the slave trade was carried on by American and Spanish ships, but in 1810 the United States vessels replaced those of Spain; from then, for the greater part of the century the slave trade was, for the most part, carried on in Portuguese and Spanish ships.⁶ The number of slaves taken from the Gold Coast from the time of abolition to the end of the Napoleonic Wars was probably not large, because during this time British dominion over the sea enabled enforcement of the abolition act and prevented most Europeans from participating in the traffic.⁷ At the end of the war it was said that "the return of peace will now restore, to states possessing settlements on the Coast of Africa, the power of renewing the trade in slaves; and our present object is to

5. James B. Bandinel, Some Accounts of the Trade in Slaves from Africa as Connected with Europe and America (London, 1842), 305.

6. Ibid., 145.

7. T.70/73: George Barnes to Earl of Bathurst, 23 April 1814; George E. Metcalfe, Great Britain and Ghana; Documents of Ghana History 1807-1957 (London, 1964), 26.

prevent , if possible, the injurious consequences likely to result, from this change to the British settlements on the Gold Coast."⁸ For the sixty years or so following Great Britain's abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, sustained attempts were carried out by way of diplomatic and naval pressures to induce other nations to renounce the slave trade and to maintain abolition. The unwillingness of Spain, Portugal, Brazil, France, and the United States to comply readily with treaties designed for the total eradication of the trade made its suppression extremely difficult; but war in Europe and British abolition reduced the outlet for slaves from the Gold Coast. Consequently, many slaves brought from the interior could not be sold, and some were either sent back to the interior or disposed of as domestic slaves.⁹ The Asantehene settled some of these around Lake Bosomtwe to fish.¹⁰

At the end of the war in Europe it was reported that, except for 200 slaves taken from Dutch Accra in November, 1815, the slave trade on the Gold Coast was at an end.¹¹

8. Ibid.

9. African Institution, 6th Report, 1812, 67.

10. Dupuis, Journal, I, 61.

11. T.70/74: African Office to Viscount Castlereagh, 1 November 1816; Answer to Questions 1, 8, and 15.

Just when the thought prevailed that the slave traffic on the Gold Coast was at an end, it began to revive. Although by this time most of the slave trading activities were confined to the area beyond the Volta River, they were far from dead, as evidenced by the fact that in late 1816 servants of the Company of Merchants were writing to request a man-of-war to be stationed between Apollonia and Whydah in order to stop it.¹²

By 1818 the Governor of Cape Coast Castle was lamenting that slave vessels under the Spanish flag, but owned mostly by Americans, had put an end to all prospects of abolition. He said that the people had begun to give up any hope of the restoration of the slave trade and were confident that considerable progress in commerce would have been made if the slave traffic had not reawakened.¹³ In March, 1818 it was reported that the slave trade on the Gold Coast was almost as active as it had been at any time before abolition. As an eye-witness reported, "I found the trade almost as active in the neighbourhood of our forts as at any time of the slave trade, and before my arrival, rows of poor wretches

12. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 5 November 1816; Ibid., Dawson to the African Committee, 3 November 1816.

13. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to Committee of Merchants, 23 February 1818.

in chains were to be seen even in the very streets of our town of Cape Coast."¹⁴ Between December, 1817, and April, 1818, no fewer than 30 slave vessels were reported to be trading on the Windward and the Gold Coast.¹⁵ Said to be fast sailing ships, they could not be intercepted easily by the older and slower British cruisers.¹⁶

The Dutch and Danish settlements were instrumental in the resurgence of the slave trade. By 1817 the English were charging the Dutch with aiding and abetting the slave trade, with Dutch forts reputedly supplying traders with canoes and water, and permitting the local people to sell slaves openly.¹⁷ The Governor and the members of his Council at Cape Coast wrote to their employer in England, "We deem it our duty to inform you of the conduct of General Daendels who is acting independent of his Government. We are aware that the desire of preventing the slave trade is a particular feature in the Dutch Government, but their representative in this country takes every opportunity of aiding

14. T.70/1604/1: James Lucas Yeo to J. W. Croker, 12 March 1818; Metcalfe, Documents, 50-53.

15. T.70/36: A. G. Nicolls to the African Committee, 27 April 1818.

16. T.70/1604/1: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 15 June 1818.

17. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 5 March 1817; 17 July 1817 and 30 July 1817. Metcalfe, Documents, 38-39.

and abetting. Portuguese vessels are furnished with canoes and Spaniards supplied with water." James Bannerman,¹⁸ a leading merchant at Accra, also reported that between 1816 and 1820 the slave trade was carried on "with great activity by the natives being in the abandoned Dutch settlements"

18. Bannerman was prominent enough to be noticed by most travellers who visited Accra when he resided there. See C. W. Thomas, Adventures and Observations on the West Coast of Africa and Its Islands (London, 1864), 159; Bridge, Journal of an African Cruiser, 140-1; Holman, Travels, 235; Peter Leonard, Records of a Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa (Edinburgh, 1833), 255. Son of a Scottish father and African mother, Bannerman was educated in England--an opportunity he, in turn, was to extend to his children. He married one of the three daughters of the Asantehene after the capture of the former during the war with Asante in 1826. In 1817 it was reported that he had long been a resident at Accra as a free trader and by 1819 that he was exporting corn from the Gold Coast. His volume of trade increased to the extent that in 1828 it was assessed that Bannerman house at Accra consumed 1,100 puncheons of rum during 17 months. 34,000 oz. of gold had been collected during the same period and in six months, 10 tons of ivory and £7,000 worth of palm oil had been sent to England. His commercial success was matched politically when he became the Civil Commandant at Christiansborg in 1850 and, when Governor Winniett died that year, the merchant community petitioned the Colonial Office to appoint Bannerman Governor because of his experience on the coast and his personal knowledge of the people. Even though he was not offered the post, he acted as Lieutenant-Governor from December, 1850 to September, 1851; was appointed to the Gold Coast Legislative Council when established in 1850, serving on the Council until his retirement in 1857. After this date he apparently served the country as a Justice of the Peace and as an Associate Justice until he was imprisoned in 1863 for a period of twelve months and fined £50 for allegedly extorting money in his magisterial capacity. See Bridge, Journal of an African Cruiser, 141-2; M. J. Sampson, Gold Men of Affairs (London, 1937), 87-89; ^{Coast} despite the slump in the Gold Coast trade in the 1820's he

particularly at Dutch Accra.¹⁹ The slave trade proceeded in an uninterrupted manner as well in the Danish settlements until 1821. In that year, when P. S. Steffens came to be installed as the Danish governor, free mulatto traders claimed that they had not been informed of the abolition of the slave trade.²⁰ The general problem of British readiness and that of other legitimate traders to deal with slavers must have aided the revival of the trade. In 1817 a merchant wrote that "the grand focus of the slave trade on the Gold Coast, lies 20 leagues (perhaps) to leeward of Accra, and as near to Annamaboe as vessels dare anchor with impunity."²¹

The historian Carl Reindorf has described the renewal of the slave trade after the Asante army left the coast

was apparently doing good trade: C.O.267/94; Denham to R. W. Hay and Metcalfe, Documents, 115; C.O.96/19: Gold Coast merchants and principal natives to Secretary of State, 21 December 1850; Kimble, Political History, 65 and 405-6; African Times, 23 March 1863, 51.

19. C.O.267/56: J. Bannerman to N. Campbell, 16 July 1826.

20. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 184.

21. T.7041: Hutchinson to Smith, 11 October 1817; Metcalfe, Documents, 47-48.

in 1816:

After General Amankwa had left for Asante, the country enjoyed peace, but the Portuguese slave trade prospered. All the leading chiefs were concerned in it; and Chief Ankra was the general broker. Dutch Town was made the Depot. Slaves were sold at night, and Ankra had them in charge till a slaver arrived; and the poor creatures were shipped in the darkness to avoid detection by the English and Danish Governments. ²²

Because of Ankra's slave trading activities, in August, 1819 an English man-of-war bombarded Dutch Accra where slaves were harboured.²³ In February, 1820 seven English men-of-war arrived at Accra with a view to suppressing the slave trade. At this time the people of Accra moved their property to Christiansborg and their plantation villages to Kaneshi; marines from the men-of-war removed Ankra's property and took all fishing and landing canoes to James Town. The British asked that the slave dealers at Accra be delivered ^{over to him} /, but the king of James Town was unwilling to give up the offenders. The bombardment of Dutch Accra did not bring an end to his operations; he and other slave dealers retired only for a time to other places to carry on the trade.²⁴

22. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 144-5.

23. A.V.M.K. 3991, letter of 2 September 1820 (F.C.).

24. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 145.

In 1820 reports from Accra said that "to put down the slave trade at Accra, we must contrive to remove the man Anchra and his brother from the Dutch Town, they are the agents for the trade."²⁵ In 1821 Ankra was involved in a slave trading incident when a slave ship, pursued by British cruisers, landed 160 slaves at Tema and, before rescue by either the British or the Danish authorities, an army headed by Ankra's brother went to Tema to remove the slaves into the bush. Throughout the 1820's Ankra continued his slave trading activities, as confirmed in 1827 by the governor of the settlements who wrote that "the increase of the slave trade may be ascribed to the open manner in which a man named Ancra has been permitted to carry on this traffic for the last two or three years, and in which the British Accras now participate more openly."²⁶

Following the defeat of Asante at the 1826 battle of Katamansu, there appears to have been a great deal of slave trading. The Commandant of Anomabo Castle described the situation when he wrote:

The Accras, British, Dutch and Danish by their example and advice have completely unsettled the minds of the natives along the coast and the interior. During their

25. C.O.267/54: Gordon to John Hope Smith, 5 November 1820.

26. C.O.267/82: ~~Niel~~ Campbell to Goderich, 14 July 1827.

stay in Fantee they have been indefatigably purchasing slaves to the amount of several hundreds--all slaves that have been guilty of anything to displease their masters have been seized, parties of from 6 to 10 have been met on their way to Accra chained together, to be sold to the vessels that now constantly call there for slaves and canoes. 'Old Palavers' have been brought up among the natives and accusation of alleged adultery and witchcraft at all times the excuse for slavery on this coast have been resorted to as a pretext for dragging people from their homes, and the unhappy people are constantly coming to this town for protection against their more powerful enemies. 27

Although it is known that the slave trade on the Gold Coast revived after 1816, no definite figures exist for the number leaving the coast. The records ^{of} ~~on~~ the Gold Coast give us only isolated instances of figures for slave exports. The acting British Consul at Bahia gave the following figures of slave exports from the Gold Coast to Bahia in Brazil between 1 January 1815 and 1 January 1816, 28

Date	Number of slaves exported	Origin of slaves
9 February 1815	345	Axim
13 February	527	Akwida
31 March	437	Akwida
20 June	2 shiploads of 498 & 449	Axim
24 September	234	Axim
27 September	211	Akwida
18 November	130	Accra
18 December	393	Axim

27. Ibid., W. Hutchinson to Captain Ricketts, 17 February 1827.

28. C.O.267/44: A. Cunningham, Acting Consul at Bahia to Viscount Castlereagh, slave trade to Bahia, 1 January 1816. This list also included the number of slaves shipped from Calabar, Price Islands and Angola to Bahia.

The following exports were also recorded:²⁹

Date	Number of slaves exported	Nationality of vessel used	Origin of slaves	Destination
Nov., 1815	200	Portuguese	Dutch Accra	Brazil
Jan., 1817	600	unknown	Elmina	Cuba
Feb., 1817	400	Spanish	Apam	unknown ³⁰
1817	1,000	Spanish or American	Asante	unknown ³¹
Sept., 1820	300*	unknown	Gold Coast	unknown ³²
Jl., 1820 to				
Feb., 1821	12,000	unknown	Accra	unknown
Jl., 1820 to				
Feb., 1821	800	unknown	Kita	unknown ³³

* Prisoners of the Asante

Thus the total number of slaves exported from the period between January, 1815, and February, 1821, amounted to at least 6,424.

29. T.70/74: the African Committee of Merchants to Castlereagh, 1 November 1816.

30. T.70/36: Smith to Committee of Company of Merchants, 5 March 1817; Metcalfe, Documents, 38-39.

31. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 339.

32. C.O.267/73: Hingston to Niel Campbell, 1 November 1820.

33. F.O.84/9: Her Majesty's Commission under the Treaties for Preventing Illicit Traffic in Slaves, Freetown, 8 March 1821.

According to Curtin, the total number of slaves imported from African territories for the period 1811-1820 was 394,500.³⁴ The known total of the slave exports from the Gold Coast would therefore be equal to 1.6% of the total. Curtin, basing his data on the British Foreign Office information from the Parliamentary Papers of 1845, does not list any percentage of slaves from the Gold Coast for the period between 1817-1820 and 1821-1830. From 1831-1840 he gives a figure of 0.5% and no percentage for the period 1841-1843. For 1817-1820, 1821-1830, 1831-1840 and 1843 he gives a percentage of the unknown origins of slaves, respectively, as follows: 4.0%, 8.3%, 17.7% and 51.0%. With a figure as high as 1.6% from isolated instances of slave export, it is probable that the slave trade on the Gold Coast between 1817-1820 was more than has been thought. So far, the documents have not revealed any definite numbers of slave exports from the Gold Coast between 1821-1830, but there is ample evidence that a good deal of it was going on.³⁵ In 1829 E. H. Collier, a Dutch factor at Accra,

34. Curtin, Atlantic Slave Trade, 234 and 258.

35. Ibid., 258. While the persistence of the slave trade at this time cannot be denied, it must be recognized that those who reported it sometimes had an axe to grind and might have exaggerated.

reported slave trading at Accra³⁶ and just two years later, in 1831, it was alleged that it had ceased to exist on the Gold Coast. For the period 1831-1840, however, we have 0.5% of the total number of slaves coming from the Gold Coast, according to British Foreign Office data quoted by Curtin. If this be the case, it is probable that the exports from the Gold Coast between 1821-1830 were not negligible, but even far greater than the 0.5% quoted for 1831-1840.

The apparent increase in the slave trade led to a renewal of panyarring on an unprecedented scale. The Governor of Cape Coast Castle reported in 1817 its suppression years before the re-establishment of the slave trade, but that now it had been revived with vigor.³⁷ The Dutch Governor General Daendels summarized this when he said:

The Spanish slave trade has given birth to this calamity...The uncertainty of not any day being seized and sold to the ships extinguished the courage for all peaceful labour, and made the negro into an armed and restless robber who laid snares for his fellowman to catch and sell him, as he feared and expected for himself...One ever hears of murders and house breakings, that had brought the wild-tempered negro to such a state that he lived in a continual quarrel with his neighbors, so that soon there existed

36. A.V.M.K.4000: 15 April 1829; A.V.M.K.4000: 28 June 1829 and A.V.M.K.4001: 23 March 1830 (F.C.).

37. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 16 July 1817.

no kroom which had no palaver, claim or dispute with its nearest neighbour from which resulted the panyaring off of men, women and children. ³⁸

The trade was going to continue as long as it was possible and as long as there was an outlet for it. As the Committee of the Company of Merchants wrote:

Can the wildest theorist expect that a mere act of the British legislature should be in a moment inspired with wisdom and refinement of the unenlightened natives of the vast continent of Africa, and persuade them, nay more, make them practically believe and feel that it is for their interest to contribute to, or even to acquiesce in the destruction of trade not inconsistent with their prejudices, their laws, or their notions of morality and religion and by which alone they have been hitherto accustomed to acquire wealth and to purchase all of the foreign luxuries and conveniences of life. ³⁹

The Governor of Cape Coast Castle also declared that slavery was "the only object they are actively disposed to. They will cling to it to the last moment, they may be deprived of it, but cannot be diverted from it. They will quit it but from necessity."⁴⁰ With the profits to be derived from the slave trade, the interest of the people was obvious. Many of the people had a stake in it, and the prosperity of the coastal people depended upon it:

The people of the coast are the brokers of those of the interior who supply the slaves; and as they are

38. Daendels, Correspondence, 250, entry for 6 December 1816.

39. T.70/73: the African Committee to Lord Castlereagh, 5 May 1817.

40. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 25 May 1817.

established from necessity as the sole medium betwixt the vessels and the sellers, they have every facility of adding to their regular profit by impositions which can neither be noticed by one party or detected by the other. This trade is consequently beyond all comparison so indolent and lucrative that even were there any appeal to their feelings, it would not influence in competition with such inordinate gain. Every other trade requires, comparatively, activity and exertion, and yields very inferior profit. It is unreasonable, therefore, to expect any conduct on the part of natives but such as may be auxiliary to the slave traders.⁴¹

The renewal and the persistence of the slave trade indicated that the Act of 1807 was not wholeheartedly embraced by the people of the Gold Coast; indeed, some Gold Coast rulers wished for its abrogation.⁴² In 1817, when Thomas Bowdich was in Kumasi, he found the Asantehene very anxious for the re-establishment of the slave trade and ~~was~~ very importunate in his inquiries concerning it.⁴³ And at the time of Bowdich's negotiations with Asante to get a treaty signed for the promotion of peace and trade, one of the principal chiefs of Asante proposed the reinstatement of the slave trade as a sine qua non.⁴⁴ At the time one of the Asantehene's captains said that there were too many slaves in the country and wanted to be rid of some of them.⁴⁵ The question of the

41. Ibid.

42. T.70/35: Governor to the African Committee, 26 December 1809; Metcalfe, Documents, 14-15.

43. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 16 July 1817; Ibid., 21 February 1818 and Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 381.

44. T.70/40: Bowdich to John Hope Smith, 29 August 1817.

45. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 381.

renewal of the trade was still being discussed when Joseph Dupuis went to Kumasi in 1820 as the English Consul: "I think, that the great king will do me much good, if he likes to make a proper trade for slaves as before," the Asantehene told Dupuis.⁴⁶

While the slave trade persisted, intermediaries between the coast and the interior maintained secret contacts with the inland rulers in order to obtain slaves for sale to slave ships.⁴⁷ Sam Kanto Brew was one of the more important middlemen about whom something is known.⁴⁸ Described by Governor John Hope Smith as "a great slave merchant," he was banished for a time from Cape Coast.⁴⁹ Smith had hoped to deport him from the Gold Coast, but the help of Spanish slave traders enabled him to avoid deportation.⁵⁰

Brew was reputed to be the chief connection of the slave trade between Asante and the coast. A British trader

46. Dupuis, Journal, I, 171.

47. Parl. Papers, 1826-1827, vi.

48. See Margaret Priestly, West African Trade and Coast Society (Oxford, 1969), 129-42.

49. T.7036: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 23 February 1818.

50. Priestly, West African Trade, 131.

wrote of Brew, "This insolent mulatto man, by presents to the king and his principal men, and being the chief support of the slave trade between this nation and the coast, has made the king interest himself in his favour in an improper degree."⁵¹ He allegedly pleased the Asantehene when he said he was personally responsible for bringing so many Spanish ships to purchase slaves on the coast. He also maintained he was being prosecuted by the English because of his attachment to the slave trade, and consequently solicited the protection and the assistance of Asante to empower him to establish a regular system of trade between the interior and the coast.⁵²

By sending the Asantehene and his principal men guns, gunpowder, and other presents, Brew was able to secure slaves.⁵³ This kind of activity must have been helped by the fact that firearms were restricted on the coast by the British government's prohibition of the arms trade. During Bowdich's mission to Kumasi, two Spanish slave ships, one at Apam and the other at ^{Benaka} ~~Brao~~, sent presents through Brew to the Asantehene, his chief linguist and one Kwamina

51. T.70/41: Hutchinson to Hope Smith, 11 October 1817; Metcalfe, Documents, 47-48.

52. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 23 February 1818.

53. T.70/41: William Hutchinson to John Hope Smith, 11 October 1817; Metcalfe, Documents, 47-48.

Bwa, who was purported to be the agent for the purchase of slaves in Kumasi.⁵⁴

In January, 1817, Brew promised the Captain of a Spanish ship, La Fama Africana, to make delivery of slaves at Kormantine. Although Governor Dawson was attempting to stem the flow of the slave trade as much as possible and even managed to seize some canoes of Brew's, the ship succeeded in departing with 500 slaves.⁵⁵ According to Joseph Dupuis, most of the disorders he witnessed in the Gold Coast,--and which the term 'Bad Palaver' with the Asantehene served to cover--were directly or indirectly connected with slaves who kept for the most part in the 'Bush' in readiness for the arrival of slave ships to be expeditiously dispatched from the coast.⁵⁶

While the slave trade in West Africa continued, the coastal people were able to make profits selling canoes and hiring themselves out as canoemen because they were important for the prosecution of the slave trade for use in communication between the ships and the coast. Slave

54.T.70/40: Bowdich to Hope Smith, 29 August 1817.

55. Daendels, Correspondence, 10 January 1817 and 31 January 1817.

56. C.O.96/63: Joseph Dupuis to Duke of Newcastle, 31 July 1863.

vessels normally called at the settlements which were not under the control of the British to make arrangements to purchase and to hire canoes and canoemen who were employed in ferrying slaves from the coast to the slave ships or transporting slaves along the coast to some convenient spot beyond the reach of British cruisers to be loaded.⁵⁷ The best canoemen were reputed to be obtained from the Gold Coast.⁵⁸

The impact of the abolition of the slave trade on the indigenous people was great. A factor on the coast wrote, "The abolition has not been attended with any visible effect, except making the natives poor and dissatisfied."⁵⁹ As the Governor of Cape Coast Castle confirmed in 1809: "The effect which the abolition of the slave trade may have produced is not clearly visible, as the bulk of the people are in a state of warfare. They condemn it along the coast, as it deprives them of the means of procuring those articles of luxury with that facility they were accustomed to."⁶⁰

57. Sir G. R. Collier, West African Sketches Comprised from the Reports of Sir G. R. Collier, Sir Charles MacCarthy and Other Official Sources 1824 (Legon, 1967), 243.

58. C.O.96/14: W. Hutton to Palmeston, 6 March 1848.

59. Parl. Papers 1816, 15-17; J. Mollan, 26 April 1814.

60. T.70/35: Governor to the African Committee, 26 December 1809; Metcalfe, Documents, 14-15.

Abolition and the conflict between Asante and Fante which commenced in 1807 brought famine in their wake. After the Asante invasion, Governor Torrane wrote, "To add to their calamities they are almost starved. A famine will most likely take place. Everything now is at an enormous price. Corn formerly bought at two and three ackies per chest is now 12 ackies per ounce and indeed cannot be got at that price."⁶¹ Part of the cause for the famine was due to the farms not being cultivated in the wake of continuous conflict, and Asante devastation to land during the conflict. The Dutch Governor said that he "persuaded the King of Ashantee not to attack the Wassaw people, in order to prevent a still greater dearth of provisions."⁶² In 1816, there was a great paucity of food. In Sekondi corn could not even be bought with gold.⁶³ Some people from the Fante coast had to go as far as Accra to purchase corn.⁶⁴ The situation in

61. T.70/35; Colonel Torrane to the African Committee, 12 June 1807; Metcalfe, Documents, 6-7.

62. A.V.M.K.3987: letter of General Daendels, 6 December 1816 (F.C.).

63. Ibid.

64. Ibid., R. Roelossen to General Daendels, 22 December 1816 (F.C.).

the English settlements was described when the Governor wrote that "There is a great scarcity at Present. In consequence of the pressing solicitations of the soldiers a considerable quantity of flour has been issued to them, and the wants of the blacks belonging to this castle shall be attended to as far as lies in our power."⁶⁵ All in all occasions of famines were reported in 1807, 1809, 1816, 1822, 1825, 1829, and 1832, according to Reindorf, "which were caused by war, when, naturally, peaceful cultivation could not be pursued."⁶⁶

The Abolition Act of 1807, coupled with the Asante invasion, disrupted the pre-1807 economic and trading activities. The coastal states in their brokerage role and the interior chiefs as suppliers of slaves had each derived profits from the Fante trade. Certainly the once apparent prosperity of the Fante was partly due to the slave trade. Early nineteenth century travellers like W. Hydercoop, Thomas E. Bowdich,⁶⁷ and Joseph Dupuis⁶⁸ who went through Fante and Assin to Kumasi saw the remnants of a country that once seemed to

65. T.70/36: J. Dawson to African Committee, June 1816.

66. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 268.

67. See Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle.

68. See Dupuis, Journal.

have thrived. Bowdich described Mansu as originally a great Fante market for slaves from the interior.⁶⁹ Dupuis also described Mansu in similar terms, and said it was formerly a wealthy town which owed its importance to the slave trade.⁷⁰ When Hydercooper passed through Mansu he stated that it was uninhabited and partially burnt.⁷¹ A large town, Fosu, formerly the market of the exchange between the Fantees and the Ashantees, was now destroyed.⁷² What had formerly been a flourishing country lay in ruins, and with the trade that gave that country its prosperity now abolished, there were no immediate prospects for recovery, and furthermore the wars of this period established a new position for Britain as protector of the coastal states. Without the source of revenue to maintain the states and to buy arms and ammunition for defence, abolition would, in the long run, affect the political structure of the coastal states.⁷³

69. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 19.

70. Dupuis, Journal, I, 17.

71. A.V.M.K. 3987, Hydercooper's Journal of His Missions to Kumasi, 7 May 1816.

72. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 22.

73. Kwame Arhin, "Diffuse Authority among the Coastal Fanti," G.N.Q. No. 9 (1966), 66-70.

Consequently, agricultural pursuits, so interwoven with the physical demands of the slave trade on the Gold Coast, especially those near the coastal areas, must have suffered a severe shock from abolition. Slaves brought from the interior had to be fed along the way as well as upon their arrival at the European castles and forts on the coast to await transportation; they had to be given food there as well as for the long journey across the Atlantic.⁷⁴

During the slave trade, agriculture thrived on the Gold Coast and in some places in West Africa, slaves waiting for ships had been employed in agricultural labor. According to Governor White of Cape Coast Castle, yam, plantain, corn, and cassava were purchased in considerable quantities during the days of the slave trade.⁷⁵ The people in the vicinity of Accra made considerable progress in agriculture, and provided great quantities of agricultural produce and provisions.⁷⁶ The port of Komenda was deemed a good place

74. Dickson, Historical Geography, 120.

75. Parl. Papers 1816, VII, 2 (405), Reports of Commission of Enquiry into the African Forts 1810. Quoted in the Report of the Select Committee on African Forts.

76. Parl. Papers 1826-1827, VI, Report of Commissioners into Sierra Leone 1826.

for stopping while proceeding to the Windward Coast because it furnished corn and yams,⁷⁷ but in 1814 progress in agriculture in Komenda had decreased since the abolition of the slave trade because there was not "that vent for commodities, which was when shipping had frequent recourse here."⁷⁸ Tantumquerry also had an "abundance of provisions." The Akuapems were primarily agriculturalists and, according to Henry Meredith, traded in agricultural products "which always met with a ready sale."⁷⁹ With abolition, the outlet for agricultural products was reduced, and it is likely that the unresponsiveness of the people to European entreaties to cultivate agricultural exports was related to the diminishing outlet for farm products.

The Asante invasion coming at the same time as abolition was no coincidence, for such invasions had been rumoured as early as 1768⁸⁰, and the invasion came when Asante was stable and peaceful at home after the reign of Osei Kwame (1777-1801) which was marked by "instability, disunity and civil wars"⁸¹ while internecine wars prevailed among the Fante

77. Parl. Papers 1816, VII, 2 (405), Report of the Committee Relating to the African Forts; the African Committee to the Treasury, 9 April 1812.

78. Ibid., 26 April 1814.

79. Meredith, Gold Coast of Africa, 227.

80. Martin, British West African Settlements, 54 and 151; Margaret Priestly, "The Ashanti Question and the British: Eighteenth Century Origins," J.A.H., II, 1 (1961).

81. Boahen, "Asante and Fante A.D. 1000-1800," in Thousand Years of West African History, 183.

during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁸² Reindorf, describing the coastal states at the time of the Asante invasion, said "Pillage, manstealing, and murder was the rule of every district. If the European Governments had not been weakened and demoralized through the slave trade, such terrible disorders could have readily been checked."⁸³ Yet the breakthrough to the coast came after almost fifteen years of European war, which had coincided with a rapid decline in the slave trade. Undoubtedly the decline and abolition of the slave trade weakened the Fante and other coastal states and broke the precise and complex politico-economic equilibrium, thus allowing Asante pressure at last to prevail. People like the Fante had been not only brokers for the inland states in the slave trade, but also had been active participants themselves. In 1753, for example, the Danes reported that there were over 300 Fantes in Akwamu buying slaves. The report said that Fantes travelled with goods to Akwamu in hundreds in order to buy all the slaves they could get.⁸⁴

82. Ibid., 345.

83. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 138.

84. Vestindish-guineisk Kompagni 1671-1755, Breve og Dokumenter fra Guinea 1751-1754, Engman, Schmidt, Hessen, Christiansborg, 3 May 1753.

The loss of income from the diminution of the slave trade and abolition must have reduced the ability of the coastal states to keep up their defences against Asante aggression. In fact after the Asante invasion of 1807 the coastal peoples, unable to defend themselves, had to rely upon the European powers on the coast for protection. The armed conflicts between Asante and her southern neighbors in 1807, 1811, 1814-1816, 1823-1824, 1826, 1863, 1873, and 1874 and the narrowly avoided conflicts in 1820, 1844, and 1853, all served to indicate the weak and vulnerable position of the coastal states and their rulers after abolition. These conflicts with Asante hindered the peace necessary for trade and economic change on the Gold Coast.

From 1807 until Asante was defeated at the battle of Kantamansu in 1826, a de facto suzer²~~inty~~^{ty} was established over the coastal states. This period of Asante rule has been described by Reindorf (probably not without some bias) as a time when "the people suffered from the most barbarous tyranny." Sovereignty over the people was exercised by Asante chiefs and headmen residing in the principal towns. According to an account of Asante rule at the time "Everybody, merchants, mechanics, clerks, canoemen, the poor, the rich; in fact, high and low, were subjected to a system of cruel extortion on every possible occasion, and on pretences

ludicrous and unheard of. People were deprived of their wives when they were handsome; if one had any words with an Asante, or inadvertently touched, or even alluded to an Asante, he was punished. In Fante as well as in Akra, several chiefs were made to pay enormous fines under various pretences."⁸⁵

Abolition was also to have a significant impact upon European trade and merchants on the Gold Coast. In 1807, the Danes, the Dutch and the British were the only European concerns on the coast. Great Britain had a major share of the slave trade and consequently British merchants and traders on the Gold Coast were concerned about the results of abolition. Governor George Torrane of Cape Coast Castle wrote that he feared little or nothing would remain for them to do on the Gold Coast, and without the profits to be made from the slave trade he felt that no man's pay on the coast would be sufficient even for maintenance and his own salary would not pay half his expenses.⁸⁶ The precarious position of European coastal traders led James Swanzy, who

85. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 162.

86. T.70/35: Torrane to the African Committee, 21 September 1807 and T.70/73: S. Cock to E. Cooke, 26 September 1808, Metcalfe, Documents, 12-14.

stood security for Governor Torrane, to withdraw. He said that at the time of the slave trade Torrane had had ample opportunity to trade to supplement his salary, but without that he would not have enough to meet his expenses as Governor.⁸⁷ In July, 1807, British merchants on the Gold Coast complained to the Committee of Merchants that, due to deprivation of the sources of profits that existed during the days of the slave trade, their salaries were less than half the sum adequate for their support.⁸⁸ The African Committee argued that during the existence of the slave trade they were able to secure the services of competent people at low salaries for the Gold Coast settlements because of the commercial advantages to be derived from slaving vessels. Now that the slave trade had been abolished they feared that their servants in Africa were unable to support themselves on their present salaries and might leave Africa for Europe and abandon the forts.⁸⁹ As a result of these submissions in 1808 the

87. T.70/35: James Swanzy to the African Committee, 12 August 1807, Martin, British West African Settlements, 150.

88. T.70/1586: Merchants on the Gold Coast to the African Committee, 1 July 1807; Parl. Papers 1816, VII, 21, S. Cock to Castlereagh, 4 October 1807.

89. Ibid.

salaries of British merchants on the Gold Coast were at least doubled, and the annual Parliamentary grant to the Gold Coast was increased from L13,431 to L23,000 per annum. In spite of the claims of the African Committee after abolition there remained a vested interest in continued British presence on the Gold Coast. This was evident from the Committee representing to the government that "several of their forts, being situated in that part of Africa in which gold (in any quantity) and ivory are to be procured, will still be found of the utmost importance, as the means of keeping up a secure intercourse with the Africans, in trading for those articles."⁹⁰ In 1811, a request from John Hope Smith and Henry Meredith to the African Committee for an increase in their salaries was an indication of the changes that had taken place in the Gold Coast trade. Smith and Meredith, Governors of the Tantomquerry and Winneba forts, argued that before abolition, the forts of Anomabo, Winneba and Tantomquerry in particular and other leeward forts had been prosperous because many slaves were sold through them. They said that the situation had changed

90. Ibid.; Martin, British West African Settlements, 150; J. J. Crooks, Records Relating to the Gold Coast Settlements 1750-1874 (Dublin, 1923), 104-6.

and the windward forts, that had been more remarkable for the gold rather than the slave trade before 1807, were now the profitable ones. Since the relative advantages of the different settlements had been reversed by abolition, and the Governors of the windward forts were "approaching to affluence whereas the chiefs of Tantomquerry and Winneba with difficulty are supporting the respectability of their situation", they asked that their salaries be increased.⁹¹ The Governor supported the claim, and justified it on the grounds that it was with great difficulty that Smith and Meredith maintained themselves in moderate comfort.⁹²

In 1808, in response to the demands of those abolitionists who wanted to extend British interests and to promote legitimate trade and civilization in Africa, the British government sent a Commission of Inquiry to the coast for the purpose of obtaining information about the situation on the Gold Coast and its probable future after abolition.

The Commission found the number of European forts on the Gold Coast "very considerable, compared with the extent

91. T.70/1593: Meredith and Smith to African Committee, 22 June 1811.

92. T.70/35: Dawson to African Committee, 1 July 1811.

of coast which they occupy." The settlements were regarded as "very trifling, unproductive concerns" which could be considered as "small private factories supported, at the public expense" and that if any of them were relinquished there would be no loss to British commerce. The government had hoped the Commission would recommend abandoning the forts, but they only suggested that Sekondi, Komenda, Tantumquerry, Winneba, PramPram and Whydah should be given up.⁹³ British merchant interest in Africa persuaded the government to continue maintaining the forts, however, arguing that they were necessary for the persons and property of the traders. Furthermore, the commerce of Africa was made so insignificant by the abolition of the slave trade that "before any material improvement can be expected to take place in any district of Africa, the slave trade must be completely annihilated, or at least driven from that part of the coast." Justification was found for retaining all the forts recommended for abandonment when Sekondi was said to have "a good landing place and considerable trade in gold;" Komenda had "some gold and ivory trade;" Tantumquerry

⁹³. Parl. Papers, 1816, VII, 135-6; Crooks, Records, 109-10.

was a valuable point of communication;" Winneba was "useful in many respects and although PramPram and Whyda had weaker claims, they were not to be rashly given up."⁹⁴

A ~~select and~~ ^{Select} Parliamentary Committee was appointed in 1816 and 1817 to examine the Gold Coast settlements, and to look into the future policy which it might deem expedient for Parliament to adopt in relation to the African Company which was responsible for the settlements on the Gold Coast. The Committee, in looking into the settlements, considered whether they should be abandoned or whether they should be maintained under the direction of the African Company and, if so, whether a new management was needed. It recommended that a Governor-in-Chief should be appointed by the government with supreme authority over all the Gold Coast settlements and that the number of the forts should be reduced. It also suggested that the Parliamentary grant to the settlements should be increased to enable the Company to "establish a regular intercourse with the great interior kingdom of the Ashantees." The Committee also wanted the crippling import duties on African produce reduced and an end brought to the revived slave trade which

⁹⁴. Parl. Papers, 1816, VII, 135-6, African Committee to Treasury, 104-8; also, T.70/73, Liverpool Traders to Treasury, 26 April 1812.

was "absolutely incompatible with and destructive to the legitimate commerce of Africa."⁹⁵

Back on the Gold Coast, the British were to follow the example of the Dutch who had sent W. Hydercooper on a mission to Asante in 1816. In 1817, a British mission reached Kumasi and concluded a treaty encouraging trade and peace between England and Asante. This treaty was never ratified by the British government.⁹⁶ T. E. Bowdich negotiated the treaty which allowed for the appointment of a British Consul to Kumasi; consequently, Joseph Dupuis was appointed to the post in 1818.

Dupuis arrived on the Gold Coast in 1819, but because of bickering between him and the authorities at Cape Coast Castle, it was not until 1820 that he reached Kumasi and entered into another treaty with Asante. This treaty contained clauses undertaking to keep the peace, promote trade, protect traders, and keep the routes open. It also declared that all of Fante was part of the Asante Empire. The government on the coast refused to recognize the treaty

95. Parl Papers, 1817, Report from the Committee on African Forts, 25 June 1817.

96. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle; Crooks, Records, 118-20.

as they refused to acknowledge Asante suzerainty over the Fante country.⁹⁷ Neither the mission of Bowdich nor Dupuis' brought peace or prosperity to the Gold Coast settlements. Thus with trade declining on the Gold Coast, the revival of the slave trade, and the criticisms of the management of the forts, the government introduced a bill to abolish the African Company in 1821.⁹⁸ This bill embodied the provisions of an earlier measure of 1819 entitled a "Bill for the Better Regulation of the African Company."⁹⁹ The Gold Coast settlements came under the direct control of the government as of July, 1821, and were made dependencies of the colony of Sierra Leone. The forts were also reduced to those of Cape Coast Castle, Anamabo, Dixcove, and Accra, and officials were prohibited even at these settlements from trading. Direct Crown rule was short lived, lasting only seven years until 1828.

On the other hand Dutch trade on the Gold Coast had greatly decreased since the last decade of the eighteenth

97. William E. F. Ward, History of Ghana, rev. 3rd. ed. (London, 1966), 173; Crooks, Records, 121.

98. Martin, British West African Settlements, 164-6.

99. T.70/1605/2: Treasury to African Committee, 27 October 1819; Metcalfe, Documents, 57.

century, and during the Napoleonic Wars they had almost been driven out altogether from the trade on the Gold Coast. From the seventeenth century until the Dutch abolished the slave trade in 1814 their trade on the African coast had been the monopoly of the Dutch West Indian Company. After abolition Dutch trade recovered only briefly under the tenure of Governor H. W. Daendels from 1816 to 1818.¹⁰⁰ A letter to the secretary of the African Committee testified to this. "The Dutch settlements you know to have been entirely neglected for many years by the mother country," wrote the correspondent. "Consequently, the amount of the articles of trade which accompanied General Daendels that year for the payment of arrears, the establishment of the Forts and the recovery of the trade, was very heavy, and as this large supply comprehended scarcely any articles but guns and powder, the importation of this was considerable." The trade in

100. African Institution, 13th Report, 1819, Appendix A. Queries proposed by Viscount Castlereagh to, and answers of, the African Institution in London, December, 1816. Q.4, 60; Albert Van Dantzig, "Dutch Recruitment in Kumasi," G.N.Q. No. 8 (January, 1966), 21; J. T. Lever, "Mulatto Influence on the Gold Coast in the Early Nineteenth Century: Jan Nieser of Elmina," A.H.S. III, 2 (1970), 254. Also, see Douglas Coombs, The Gold Coast, Britain and the Netherlands 1850-1874 (London, 1963), 196.

firearms immensely helped Dutch trade, and Asante traders who could not procure these items when their imports ^{from} ~~to~~ the British forts were limited, resorted to the Dutch settlements in great numbers.¹⁰¹ After Governor Daendels' period of office the forts were reduced to Elmina and Axim.¹⁰²

The Danish establishments on the Gold Coast were not profitable even during the days of the slave trade, and their commercial value further declined after abolition. The European War from 1807-1814 prevented Denmark from sending ships to the Gold Coast to supply her forts and after a disastrous war she did not have the money to equip ships for the Danish West African settlements. After the war, visits of Danish ships to supply her possessions on the coast became annual or biannual affairs.¹⁰³ In relation to trade at the Dutch and Danish settlements, it was written in 1822 that for the last three years there was only an average of one vessel from Holland to the Gold Coast with cargoes valued at approximately L1,500 each and only one

101. T.70/36: Bowdich to Cock, 20 August 1816.

102. C.O.267/56: MacCarthy to Bathurst, 18 May 1822; Metcalfe, Documents, 76.

103. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 191.

from Denmark.¹⁰⁴ By 1816 Denmark was seriously contemplating giving up the forts and the Danish government thought of exchanging all of its settlements on the Gold Coast for the two Portuguese islands of São Thomé and Príncipe. However, this never occurred, probably because of the hopes of Denmark to develop plantations on the coast. In 1817 reports from the coast indicated that there was no possibility of the Danes making such a transaction with the Portuguese. As the report put it, "no compensation could be given on this coast, to the [Danish] settlers in the island equivalent to their plantations, the Portuguese being prohibited from trading in slaves to the northward of the line, the Danish settlements would consequently be useless to them."¹⁰⁵

In addition to European commerce there was American trade to Africa¹⁰⁶ which until the end of the eighteenth

104. C.O.267/56: Memorial of Cape Coast Merchants, 30 September 1822; Metcalfe, Documents, 80-82.

105. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to the African Committee, 5 March 1817.

106. See George E. Brooks, Jr., Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen a History of American Legitimate Trade with West Africa in the Nineteenth Century (Boston, 1970). See Norman Bennett and George E. Brooks, Jr., eds., New England Merchants in Africa (Boston, 1968).

century was confined to slaves. During the Napoleonic Wars, which precluded Europeans from fully supplying their West African settlements, American merchants were given the opportunity to carry out profitable trade on the Gold Coast, becoming especially important after the American War of 1812. From 1821-1828 when the Crown assumed direct control of the forts, however, trade at the British settlements was closed to them and they were confined to dealing with Dutch and Danish forts and the areas between them.¹⁰⁷ For most of the period under review, American merchants maintained a symbiotic relationship with Portuguese, Spanish and Brazilian slave traders.¹⁰⁸

The success of European trade activities on the Gold Coast after abolition depended, to a large degree, upon the extent to which they were able to shift indigenous subsistence production into production for exchange. This, in a sense, implied a commercialization of indigenous resources, and an enlargement of the resources of the country dedicated to money earning activities. This in essence meant that more

107. Brooks, Yankee Traders, 65-72.

108. Ibid., 105-25.

resources would have to be devoted to subsistence surplus production to allow for cash crop specialization.

European trade interests during this period thought about developing trade resources of a country about which they were so little informed. In 1807 Governor Torrane made inquiries to various chiefs about the interior of the Gold Coast, but he said that it was impossible to get any correct information from the people, as they thought the questions were put with a view to gain advantages of the interior trade to their prejudice.¹⁰⁹ Again, in 1811, Governor White of Cape Coast Castle admitted that despite the years of intercourse between England and the Gold Coast, they were not well informed about the resources of the area. He wrote that some knowledge of the interior was necessary before one could estimate the capabilities of the country.¹¹⁰

Despite the inadequate knowledge of the resources of the region, it was hoped that trade in gold dust, ivory, cotton, indigo, rice, corn, palm oil, and timber could replace the trade in human beings.¹¹¹ Yet the enumeration of the

109. T.70/35: Torrane to the African Committee, 1 February 1807.

110. Ibid., Governor to the African Committee, 13 October 1811.

111. T.70/73: S. Cock to E. Cooke, 26 September 1808; Metcalfe, Documents, 12-14.

known resources of the Gold Coast was not a meaningful way to assess the economic prospects of the country. As has been observed "such an inventory cannot be translated into terms of commercial values or of potential economic development without importing assumptions about quantities and prices of complementary resources and about markets for the products arising from the use of the resources."¹¹² Henry Meredith, the Governor of Winneba Castle, asserted that the way to increase trade consisted in establishing free intercourse with the Gold Coast interior.

The means of increasing the trade of this country, and of every other country on the coast, obviously consists in opening a free intercourse with the interior, in introducing an improved system of agriculture and the arts of civilized life; in enlarging their knowledge, and exciting their industry; and, above all, in establishing such a government and police, as will secure them in enjoyment of what they may acquire by exertion. ¹¹³

In order to attain this Meredith suggested that substantial sums would be needed to extend European influence into the interior for the purpose of trade. He said that unless additional grants were made for these purposes all effort

112. Bauer and Yamey, Economics of Under-Developed Countries, 48.

113. Meredith, Gold Coast of Africa, 183-4.

to increase trade on the Gold Coast would prove abortive.¹¹⁴ He felt that if trade were to be improved and to be extended inland, alliances should be formed with rulers, and residents placed in principal towns for the purpose of ultimately reaching the resources of the country, extending manufactures among the people and encouraging confidence and friendship.¹¹⁵ Governor Torrane's policy of friendship with Asante was influenced by the desire to exploit the interior trade. Writing after the invasion of 1807 that he had received a message from the Asantehene asking that the two of them meet in order to arrange the "future welfare" and "the regulation of the trade" Torrane reported: "And here let me observe that an intercourse securely open with Ashantee, offers prospects of the highest advantage, and the more so as the slave trade is now at an end. The Ashantees have ivory and gold in great abundance, and the Fantees have ever thrown impediments in the way."¹¹⁶

At the time of British abolition the only significant

114. Ibid., 207.

115. Ibid.

116. T.70/35: Torrane to the African Committee, 20 July 1807; Metcalfe, Documents, 7-12.

items of export from the Gold Coast were gold dust and ivory. These products, although not exclusively confined to the inland country, came mainly from the interior or were produced in greater quantities inland.¹¹⁷ It was said that "gold dust has hitherto been imported into this country in very inconsiderable quantities, it being the policy of the natives to prevent the export," and that "elephants' teeth have long been an article of import from Africa, but hitherto as an appendage to the slave trade, the ordinary methods of conveying them from the interior having been by means of the slaves on their way to the coast."¹¹⁸ The hope of making ivory a viable export from the Gold Coast was nothing new. Ivory was scarce on the Gold Coast and yet, despite the difficulties involved in obtaining it, Europeans had since the eighteenth century been optimistic about improving the ivory trade.¹¹⁹ The association of the slave trade with legitimate trade, however, was in the main

117. Meredith, Gold Coast of Africa, 106-7; Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 41.

118. T.70/73: S. Cock to E. Cooke, 26 September 1808; Metcalfe, Documents, 12-14.

119. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 28.

just in a country where headloading was the primary means of transporting goods.

In this period following the abolition of the slave trade, there were two kinds of trade on the Gold Coast, namely, "native" and "factory" trade. What was called "factory" trade was carried on at the European forts and settlements, and was said to yield an average profit of between 75% and 100% over outlay. "Native" or "floating" trade, supposedly dangerous and difficult but more lucrative, was carried out where there were no factors.¹²⁰ This trade consisted primarily of gold and ivory from the interior in exchange for East Indian and Manchester goods, guns, powder, lead, and iron.¹²¹ In the floating trade, a merchant house put on board ship a certain quantity of goods under the charge of a captain to sell on the African coast for the products of the country. The captain sailed along the coast going from port to port selling his goods out of his vessel to the indigenous people.¹²² In the factory trade, commercial

120. Samuel Swan to Benjamin L. Swan, "Atlantic Ocean," November, 1910, MS Swan letter book in Bennett and Brooks, New England Merchants, 30.

121. Parl. Papers, 1816, VII 2 (405), Report from the Select Committee on Papers Relating to the African Forts, 15-18.

122. Parl. Papers, 1842, XIII, Q.3340 and Q.3345.

houses in England established trading posts on the coast with a merchant resident who opened a store where the Africans could come to sell and purchase goods. These merchants had fixed salaries and were thus assured of a steady income with any risks and losses involved in the trade falling upon the merchants in England.

Most of the handling of the legitimate trade in the British settlements after abolition was in the hands of the servants of the Company of Merchants, and, in 1816, it was reported that there were only five private traders at Cape Coast.¹²³ Those interested in free-trade resented the company monopoly, saying that it was injurious to British commercial interests. Matthew Forster wrote that he considered the annual grant to the Company entirely wasted, and "only beneficial to the servants of the company who of course monopolise the whole of the trade." He said that in Cape Coast, for example, the Governor was the chief trader and, since he had such influence, free-traders in the town could not compete with him.¹²⁴ Company servants enjoyed their advantageous trade position not only because

123. Parl. Papers, 1817, Report from the Committee on African Forts, 25 June 1817.

124. C.O.267/55: M. Forster to Earl Bathurst, 4 January 1821, Metcalfe, Documents, 63-64.

of their posts but also because of the cheap goods assigned to them for their salaries that enabled them to undersell free traders.¹²⁵ Although governors of the forts during the Crown period were traders, free-trading became the practice in the British settlements after 1821. In 1826 it was said that all of the merchants on the Gold Coast "traded on their own account."¹²⁶ At this time there were five merchants, at Cape Coast, one at Anomabo and three at Accra--two of whom were Africans.¹²⁷ There were no European merchants at the abandoned forts, but in some of them and in villages nearby, some traders had indigenous factors who disposed of European goods by barter. This kind of operation was limited because of the floating trade,¹²⁸ which enabled some traders to obtain their goods directly from the supercargoes.

Dutch and Danish trade after abolition was official, but since the reduction in their establishments and the increase in the floating trade, some independent or private traders emerged at these settlements like H. Richter and W.

¹²⁵Ibid.

¹²⁶. C.O.167/74: Campbell to Bathurst, 12 November 1826; Metcalfe, Documents, 105-7.

¹²⁷. Ibid. These African merchants were J. Hansen and James Bannerman.

Lutterodt at Christiansborg. The floating trade and the decreasing scope of official trading helped to augment the direct participation of the indigenous people as they began to trade directly with merchant vessels. This increase of indigenous participation was not welcomed by the European private traders and the coastal local government. In 1819 the Council at Cape Coast Castle wrote that "the trade carried on by natives with foreign vessels to the great detriment of the free trader had arrived at such an alarming height, that the President considered it a matter of duty to interfere, and to revive a regulation which was formerly in force here prohibiting it."¹²⁹ If there had been a regulation limiting the direct dealings of the people with foreign vessels it does not appear that it was successfully renewed, and the trend continued, as an official testified to it in 1826:

Some vessels bring out all their cargo for barter direct with the natives, and none for the merchants. It is difficult to ascertain what proportion of the whole trade is carried on by each mode, but I am led, after every possible enquiry, to think that one fourth or one fifth only is carried by the merchants. The collector thinks only one-tenth, but his estimate is probably erroneous. ¹³⁰

129. T.70/1604/1: Governor Smith and Council to the Africa Committee, 11 January 1819; Metcalfe, Documents, 54-56.

130. Ibid.

Whatever the right proportion of trade was in the hands of the merchants, it was clear that an appreciable quantity of trade was in the hands of the indigenous people among whom some of the prominent indigenous traders of the time were Jan Nieser of Elmina and J. Hanson and James Bannerman at Accra. By 1819 the last two merchants were exporting large quantities of corn and palm oil from Accra, and, in 1828, it was said that the "Bannerman house at Accra consumed 1,000 puncheons of rum during the last 17 months. 34,000 oz. of gold have been collected during the same period and in the last six months, 10 tons of ivory and L7,000 worth of palm oil have been sent to England.¹³¹ A traveller who visited Accra in the 1820's described Bannerman as "a gentleman of colour, and a man of education; he has resided a long time in England and is a sensible, mild, and gentlemanlike man. He supplies all our men-of-war, on the African station, when they call at Accra, with bullocks, vegetables, etc."¹³²

The growth of free trade on the Gold Coast owed some of its impetus to Matthew Forster, of the merchant house of

131. C.O.267/94; Denham to Hay, 1 February 1828; Metcalfe, Documents, 115-6.

132. James Holman, Travels in Madeira, Sierra Leone, Teneriffe, St. Jago, Cape Coast, Fernando Po, Princess Island (London, 1840), 235.

Forster and Smith. In about 1817 he introduced a new system of trading which became popular with some merchant houses in London until the introduction of the steamship in 1852. By this plan the London Houses became agents and wholesalers to merchants on the African coast. The system involved sending out goods on commission with the distinguishing feature of this new method that the merchants in London were absolved of all risks and losses.¹³³ Under this arrangement any person who wished to go to Africa to seek his fortune applied to a house which supplied him with goods on credit and was charged a commission. By having many correspondents on the coast, great profits accrued to the merchant houses; yet at the same time the correspondents often suffered losses when there were accidents of misfortunes.¹³⁴

This new system of trade must have influenced to some extent the formation of the Gold Coast Mining and Trading Company, numbering among its membership such well known merchants interested in Africa as Matthew Forster and John George Nicholls. The Company aimed at providing help and

133. Parl. Papers, 1842, xii, Qs.3319-3320.

134. Ibid., Qs.3325-3327.

encouragement to merchants involved in carrying on trade on the Gold Coast and in making arrangements with chiefs to introduce better mining methods.¹³⁵

This company has been formed with a view to obviate the impediments to individual enterprize; and it is proposed to extend the intercourse now subsisting with the Native Chiefs and Princes and to make arrangements with them to introduce better methods of working the Mines and Pits in the Dinkara, Warsaw, Ahantah, and Fantee Territories on the Gold Coast, and at Grand Bassam and Assinee on the Windward Coast. Individuals in the Directions of this undertaking are already provided with Agents at different points, who, with other Agents and Factors, to be employed, will enable the Company to carry its objects into immediate effect, and to secure the power of working those Mines, which are the richest and most accessible.¹³⁶

The company, however, confined its activities to trade.

The sources that have come to the present writer's attention do not reveal much that is directly connected with the activities of this company, but the emergence of correspondents of about half a dozen London Houses on the Gold Coast might have been connected with this company.¹³⁷ These companies provided jobs for a growing number of African traders acting as local correspondents for the European importers. The large capital involved in the Gold Coast trade until 1852

135. "Gold Coast Mining Company Prospectus" (London, 1825).

136. Junner, Gold on the Gold Coast, 14.

137. Included in the houses that were to operate on the Gold Coast were: Forster and Smith; F. and A. Swanzy; King of Bristol and Banner Brothers.

eventually led to the commerce being chiefly in the hands of three London Houses: namely, Messrs. Forster and Smith, Swanzy and T. Hutton, the last firm to disappear from the coast after 1843. ?

The lack of complete and reliable trade figures for the Gold Coast makes it difficult to evaluate the level on which trade was being maintained on the Gold Coast after abolition; however, more accurate figures than are presently available could probably not be assembled. Abolition, for example, made about 90% of the trade of the Company of Merchants Trading to Africa illegal.¹³⁸

The bulk of the Gold Coast trade immediately following abolition was mainly in gold dust, and ivory was brought to England during the European conflict and for a short period after that in men-of-war. In certain instances passengers from the Gold Coast to England brought their own gold dust and ivory with them--such cases are not included in the

138. Metcalfe, Documents, 3.

figures below:¹³⁹

Gold Dust Exports

Year	Ounces	L
1807	*	*
1808	3,852	15,408
1809	2,573	10,494
1810	6,742	25,968
1811	**	**
1812	1,090	4,360
1813	16,976	67,908
1814	20,059	80,350
1815	4,885	*
1816	5,876	21,904
1817	7,911	31,644
1818	4,108	16,434
1819	*	*
1820	*	*
1821	*	*

*Figures not available. **No exports that years.

Ivory Exports¹⁴⁰

Year	Cwt.	Approximate value* in L
1807	254	4,826
1808	82	1,558
1809	279	5,301
1810	204	3,876
1811	-	-
1812	317	6,023
1813	995	18,905
1814	1,355	25,745
1815	1,209	22,971

*During this period the price of ivory averaged L19 per cwt.

139. T.70/1599, 1808-1815; T.70/1604/2, 1815-1818; 27 February 1819, Andrew Lendgren to Cock.

140. Parl. Papers, 1816, VII 2 (405), Report from the Select Committee on Papers Relating to the African Ports, 12.

Although the figures are incomplete, some attempt may be made to interpret the figures in light of events on the Gold Coast and correspondence to traders at the time. A comparison of the gold exports of the early nineteenth century and the last decades of the eighteenth century cannot be made since the figures for the later period are lacking. However, it may be assumed that figures for the eighteenth century are low because there had been a general decline in gold exports from the Gold Coast since the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁴¹ Even though gold from the Gold Coast was usually in the form of gold dust, ornaments of gold were also exported intermittently. It was reckoned that gold remitted to England lost from 15% to 20%, but gold received in direct trade with Asante lost only 10% to 12%.¹⁴² The loss of gold in trade with the Fante was the result of adulteration, which formerly was carried out by mixing the pure metal with copper and brass, but when it was found that aqua fortis was successfully used and as a test, silver was employed, this was often not discovered until the gold reached England.¹⁴³ The ivory trade had been linked with

141. See Johnson, "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade,"

142. Parl. Papers, 1826-1827, VII, 29-30.

143. Ibid., 30.

the slave trade in the sense that ivory was transported by slaves on their way to the coast. Thus, abolition must have affected ivory export and probably other products as well.¹⁴⁴

Stagnation of trade on the Gold Coast was often blamed on the wars and the disturbances on the coast.¹⁴⁵ In 1807, a war year, there are no figures available for gold. However, it would seem that gold and ivory were becoming important exports during the period after abolition. In requesting an increase in salaries, Hope Smith and Henry Meredith had pointed out in 1811 that the windward forts situated in the gold producing areas were "approaching to affluence." Thus, they were apparently enjoying an amount of trade in gold they had not experienced previously.¹⁴⁶ No figures are available for 1811, which witnessed another clash between Asante and the coastal areas, and it was reported that all trade at the forts, except at Accra and Apollonia, was nearly annihilated.¹⁴⁷ There was another war from 1814-1816 and this must have influenced the gold trade. In 1816 Elmina, which had not been involved in war with Asante, was engaged in prosperous trade. It was reported that Elmina

¹⁴⁴ T.70/73: Cock to Cooke, 26 September 1808; Metcalfe, Documents, 13.

¹⁴⁵ Parl. Papers, 1816, VII 2 (405), Report from the Select Committee on Papers.

¹⁴⁶ T.70/1593: Meredith and Smith to the Africa Committee, 22 June 1811.

¹⁴⁷ T.70/35: Governor White to Committee, 1 July 1811, Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 190.

received more Asante, Wassa and Fante traders' gold and ivory daily than all the other factories on the coast together. Of course this was in part due to the trade in firearms which had been prohibited at the English settlements.¹⁴⁸

When the Asante army left the coast in early 1816 English merchants reported that trade with them was starting to flourish at their forts. In June, 1816, the Governor reported that for the past two months the Asante had brought down considerable gold dust and ivory.¹⁴⁹ Reporting on trade conditions in 1816, Dawson wrote that "It is particularly gratifying to us to see an intercourse established which has not been known for sixteen years."¹⁵⁰ In March, 1817, Governor John Hope Smith wrote: "The commercial intercourse with the Asantes has been for the last ten months, extremely flourishing, and is now evidently daily improving."¹⁵¹

From the correspondence of British merchants on the coast, it would seem that the revival of the slave trade terminated the progress that was reported after the Asante left the coast in 1816.¹⁵² Since the figures quoted here represent those to England in men-of-war, some of the apparent

148. A.V.M.K. 3987, 23 December 1816 (F.C.).

149. T.70/36: Governor to Committee of Merchants, 1 June 1816.

150. Ibid., Dawson to Committee of Merchants, 4 October 1816; Metcalfe, Documents, 37.

151. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to Committee of Merchants, 5 March 1817; Metcalfe, Documents, 38-39.

152. T.70/36: John Hope Smith to Committee of Merchants, 23 February 1817.

drop in gold and ivory exports after 1814 can be accounted for by the fact that after the war most of these products were starting to go to England in merchant vessels instead of men-of-war. A letter of a commander of the West African Squadron in 1818 throws light on gold exports from the Gold Coast after the war. He said that during the last three years, 1815-1818, ships of war had not taken more than 8,000 ounces of gold to England. He calculated that about 12,000 ounces a year had gone home in merchant ships.¹⁵³ This estimate of not more than 8,000 ounces annually going to England in ships of war compares with the independent figures given in the chart of 4,885 ounces in 1815, 5,876 ounces in 1816 and 7,911 ounces in 1817. Although by 1818 merchants were blaming the decline of trade on the revival of the slave trade, it would appear that causes for the rise and fall in the trade cycle were more complex and cannot simply be linked with the slave trade. It must be pointed out here that produce from Africa fetched higher prices during the European war, and this factor could not have been unimportant at the cessation of hostilities.¹⁵⁴ The prices during the

153. T.70/1604/1: James Yeo to J. W. Crocker, 12 March 1818; Metcalfe, Documents, 50-53.

154. Parl. Papers, 1816, VII, 2 (405), Report from the Select Committee on Papers Relating to the African Forts, 12.

war and in 1815 for various produce are given below.¹⁵⁵

Article	War Price L-s-d	Present Price L-s-d
Palm oil	60 - - per ton	35 - -
Ivory	26 - - per cwt.	19 - -
Guinea pepper	25 - - per cwt.	17 - -
Guinea grains, or grains of paradise	15 - - per cwt.	5 - -
Barwood	24 - - per ton	8 - -
Camwood	35 - - per ton	21 - -
Ebony	50 - - per ton	15 - -
Bees wax	250 - - per ton	140 - -
Gum copal	3 6 per ton	- 1 6
Gum senegal	- 1 - per lb.	- - 2
Hides	- - 7 per lb.	- - 2
Seahorse teeth	1 1 - per lb.	- 15 -
Gold dust	5 5 6 per ounce	3 18 -

According to Bowdich, Asante hoarded gold so that they could be prepared to buy firearms and gun powder if a war suddenly broke out.¹⁵⁶ Guns and gunpowder which had been important items of trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth century¹⁵⁷ were still equally important.¹⁵⁸ Firearms, besides their use in wars, were widely used during celebrations, performances

155. Ibid. These prices were those obtained in Liverpool.

156. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 335.

157. See Daaku, Trade and Politics, 5 and 19.

158. Bennett and Brooks, eds., New England Merchant, 41.

and observations of certain customs on the Gold Coast. However, in 1807, during the war in Europe, an Order in Council made the export of firearms to the African coast illegal because it was thought that it promoted contraband trade in slaves. When this Order expired on 6 June 1809 it was deemed necessary to continue the ban.¹⁵⁹ In 1813, however, another Order in Council allowed a barrel of gunpowder to every ten tons of a vessel's burden, ten trading guns or blunderbusses and ten pairs of pistols for each barrel of gunpowder.¹⁶⁰ The Orders in Council banning or limiting firearm exports to Africa were repealed in May, 1817.¹⁶¹ Despite restrictions on firearms, special permission was granted from time to time to export them to the Gold Coast allegedly for defence purposes.¹⁶² Since the government had no objection to the export of firearms in large quantities to other places, some supplies were able to reach the Gold Coast markets by circuitous route,¹⁶³ with

159. T.70/73: Committee of Merchants to Treasury, 24 April 1813; Metcalfe, Documents, 25-26.

160. T.70/74: African Office to Treasury, 20 August 1816.

161. Ibid., 31 May 1817; also, Cock to Messrs. Pigon and Company, June 1817.

162. T.70/73: African Office to Privy Council, 15 October 1812; Ibid., 30 September 1816 (from African Office).

163. T.70/35: Privy Council to Simon Cock, 31 August 1814; T.70/36: Harry Gill and 96 other Birmingham manufacturers of guns and pistols to S. Cock, 17 July 1816.

some merchants exporting their firearms to Madiera and then reshipping them to Africa.

British merchants on the Gold Coast keenly felt the limitation of the export of firearms. They complained that the limitation would transfer trade into the hands of Americans and other European merchants who could supply the quantities of firearms the people needed.¹⁶⁴ According to the merchants, without these articles it was impossible to carry on any trade, especially on the Gold Coast.¹⁶⁵ In 1816, a group of Birmingham gun and pistol manufacturers also joined the merchants to ask for the lifting of the restrictions on the export of firearms. They argued that unless this was done, they would have to discharge the greater part of the men they employed and, furthermore, whatever might have been the expedience of preventing the Africans from obtaining any more than a limited supply during the existence of the slave trade or during the war, those considerations were at an end.¹⁶⁶

There is conclusive evidence that the decline of trade

164. T.70/35: Privy Council to Simon Cock, 31 August 1814; T.70/36: Harry Gill and 96 other Birmingham manufacturers of guns and pistols to S. Cock, 17 July 1816.

165. T.70/73: African Office to Earl Bathurst, 22 November 1811.

166. T.70/35: London Traders to Committee of Merchants, 17 April 1813.

at the British settlements was partially due to the prohibition on the sale of firearms and ammunitions. Traders who were unable to obtain these supplies at British settlements resorted to the Dutch forts.¹⁶⁷ The Parliamentary Committee of 1817 had "reason to believe, from evidence laid before them, that the prohibition to export gunpowder and firearms has been a main cause of the depression of trade to the British settlements, and of its transfer, in part, to foreign nations, to whom it has furnished increased facilities for reviving the slave trade."¹⁶⁸

After its apparent drop in 1818 trade did not recover for some time and by 1819 the gold trade was reported to be so trifling that servants of the Committee of Merchants were recommending the abandonment of Dixcove, Cape Coast, and Accra.¹⁶⁹ The cause of much of the decline in the

167. T.70/36: T. E. Bowdich to S. Cock, 20 August 1816; T.70/36: John Hope Smith to Committee of Merchants, 5 and 7 March 1817; Metcalfe, Documents, 38-39; T.70/1602/2: 5 March 1817, and T.70/36: Governor to Committee of Merchants, 16 July 1817.

168. Parl. Papers, 1817, 25 June 1817.

169. T.70/1605/1: Smith, Mollan and Adamson to the African Committee, 22 March 1819; Metcalfe, Documents, 56-57.

external trade was the result of a conflict between Asante and the British government about sovereignty over the Fante. In 1821 when both treaties concluded by Bowdich and Dupuis in 1817 and 1820 failed to settle the dispute, the Asantehene broke off negotiations with the British and suspended trade with the coast. Reindorf wrote that "Trade was entirely stopped, and the whole territory became a scene of lawless violence."¹⁷⁰

In 1822, when the new Governor of the British settlements arrived on the Gold Coast, trade was at a standstill, and much of the trade left at the British forts was driven from them when they came under the Crown. By placing the Gold Coast under Sierra Leone the settlements came under the British Trade and Navigation Acts and as such the forts were closed to foreigners and a duty was also payable on all trade carried out there. Merchants at the British forts were quick to complain. "We allude to the peculiar circumstances which have tended to fetter the commerce of the British settlements, and materially to further increase that of the Dutch and Danes, who draw their trade from the same source, and have all their ports free, without any duties whatever

170. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 167.

being levied," they wrote. They said that:

The plain fact is that ships, not only of all foreign nations, resort to Elmina but British vessels make a practice of doing their trade at that port in preference to Cape Coast, by which means they avoid paying any duties, and by which the Dutch are enabled to undersell us by 8 per cent, and some articles 12 per cent, which unintentionally makes the regulations of the Colonial Government a bounty to the foreign trade. ¹⁷¹

The diminution of trade at this time can be seen in the export^s of three large London houses to the Gold Coast.

In 1821-1823 the exports of these houses were: £47,270 for Forster and Smith, £45,130 for Joseph Reid and £20,031 for James Barns.¹⁷² Considering the low and even non-existent level of Asante trade with the British establishments, MacCarthy sought permission from England to suspend the Navigation Acts to admit some foreign vessels at their forts so that the merchants could sell "their inferior African produce, such as the lowest class of ivory and palm oil."¹⁷³ Before MacCarthy could get a reply to his request he was killed in a war with Asante.

This trade depression was, of course, further prolonged

171. C.O.267/56: Memorial of Cape Coast Merchants, 30 September 1822; Metcalfe, Documents, 80-82.

172. C.O.267/78: J. Reid, Forster and Smith, James Barns to Earl Bathurst, 1826.

173. C.O.267/58: MacCarthy to Bathurst, 11 February 1823; Metcalfe, Documents, 82-83.

by the war between Asante and her southern neighbours in 1823-1824 and 1826. The main exports are given in the table below.¹⁷⁴

Abstract of the Amount of Exports from the Settlements of Cape Coast, Accra, Annomaboe and Dixcove upon the Gold Coast from the Period of Their Transfer to the Crown on the 1st April 1822 to the 30th June 1826

Year	Gold dust oz.	Silver coin	Ivory tons	Palm oil cwts. puncheons tons		
1822						
1st Ap.-						
31st Dec.	10,896	168	18	15	1,202	480
1823	600		4		95	38
1824	2,011		20		638	255
1825	17,063	7,950	59	10	650	260
1826						
1st Jan.-						
30th Ju.	5,071	6,834	29	15	590	217
Total	27,641	14,950	132	40	3,175	1,250

Compared to the period prior to 1818 the main change in the trade figures seems to be the addition of appreciable quantities of palm oil exports. It appears that palm oil was beginning to figure prominently in the exports from the Gold Coast, but its production in comparison with the total from West Africa was very low, which can be seen in the

174. C.O.267/93: Custom House, Cape Coast, 21st September 1826.

table below.

Palm Oil Export		
Gold Coast ¹⁷⁵		Total from West Africa ¹⁷⁶
Year	Tons	Tons
1822		
1st Ap.-		
31st Dec.	480	3,188
1823	38	3,270
1824	255	3,699
1825	260	4,268
1826		
1st Jan.-		
30th Ju.	217	4,953

The palm oil coming from the Gold Coast at this time came mainly from Krobo and Akuapem in the eastern part of the country. It was no surprise that Krobo responded to the external demand for palm oil during this period because they had been cultivating palm trees and engaging in local trade in palm oil long before it became important. A passage about the Krobos early in the nineteenth century described them as cultivating palm oil:

Crobo hill, as it is commonly called, stands unconnected, and is almost perpendicular: it is a solid rock, covered with mould and some large timber; it is very fertile, and abounds with plenty of sweet water, even at its summit. The inhabitants, who (as Mr. Schionning remarks) are deceitful, cruel, and revengeful, subsist mostly by tilling the ground and cultivating the palm-tree. 177

175. C.O.267/93: Rowan Report.

176. Figures from N. H. Stilliard, "The Rise and Development of Legitimate Trade in Palm Oil with West Africa," (unpublished M.A. thesis, Birmingham University, 1938), 185. See also J.S.S., XXXI (1968), 25-48 and Parl. Papers 1844-1845,

177. Meredith, Gold Coast of Africa, 221n.

According to an article in the Basel Mission Heidenbote in 1867 by Missionary Schlusz (based on information from Odonko Azu), towards the end of the eighteenth century Krobo was almost a desert and the people had been herding cattle. It was said that the population at that time was not half as large. Before the Krobos started planting palm trees which changed the vegetation and climate of their country their main foods were beef and millet. One disadvantage of the growth of palm trees and the changing of the climate was that tsetse flies came into the region and made cattle raising difficult.¹⁷⁸

It is clear that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Krobos were buying more land for their expanding population and for the cultivation of palm trees. Traditions of Krobo land purchases in Akuapem have been dated 1812,¹⁷⁹ 1814,¹⁸⁰ and at the beginning of the reign of Kotrope who fought in the battle of Katamansu in 1826.¹⁸¹ The purchase of land by the Krobos was to continue for the rest of the

178. B.M. Heidenbote, 1867, 36-37.

179. B. Struck (ed.) "Historiches/uber Akuapem," Anthropos (1922), 476, quoted in Marion Johnson, "Migrants' Progress," B.G.G.A., IX, 2 (1964), 7.

180. Findings of Stool Lands Commission, Gold Coast Gazette, 17 January 1956, quoted in Johnson, "Migrants' Progress," 7.

181. Ibid.

nineteenth century. In 1867 it was reported that the Krobos seemed to be buying land from the Akuapem and Akwamu so that their region was always expanding.¹⁸² The extent to which the people of Krobo had developed towards a market economy early in the nineteenth century cannot be over emphasized. Even as early as the middle of the eighteenth century, they were carrying on regular trade in selling red clay to the people of K&ta and buying fish from them.¹⁸³

The developing palm oil trade in the Gold Coast was limited by environmental factors. The palm oil from the Gold Coast was inferior in quality¹⁸⁴ and, because of the difficulty of transportation, the producing area of palm oil for the overseas trade was confined to the area near the coast. Unlike the Gold Coast, the developing palm oil industry in the oil rivers had the advantage of producing good quality palm oil and having cheap transportation provided by navigable waterways.¹⁸⁵ Although the production of palm

182. B.M., Heidenbote, 1867, 6-7.

183. J. M. Grove and A. M. Johansen, "The Historical Geography of the Volta Delta, Ghana, during the Period of Danish Influence," I.F.A.N., XXX, 4 (1968), 1389.

184. Freda Wolfson, "A Price Agreement on the Gold Coast--the Krobo Oil Boycott 1858-1866," E.H.R., VI, Series 2, 1 (1953-1954), 70.

185. For the development of the oil trade in the Niger Delta, see Dike, Trade and Politics, 118.

oil on the Gold Coast was never going to approach the level of that in the Niger Delta, it was going to be a staple export on the Gold Coast only to be replaced by cocoa at the end of the nineteenth century.

Palm oil was a welcome addition to the staple exports of the Gold Coast, but the war with Asante affected exports like gold and ivory. With the exception of 1825 when there was no war, the export figures of gold dust for 1822-1826 are low in relation to the export average of 20,000 ounces from 1816-1818. This is understandable in view of the fact that most of the gold came from Asante which was at war during this period. The war must have also influenced gold supplies from Akyem and Wassa. The low figures of ivory exports do not compare either with the earlier exports up to 1815 or those of the 1830's. The export of silver coin indicated in the table probably represent the profits of surreptitious dealings with the slave traders. In addition to the exports mentioned 4,000 bushels of Indian corn were from Accra and varying quantities of tortoise shell, coffee, camwood, bees' wax, palm soap, ebony, gum copal, and guinea grains.

The amount of recorded imports into the Gold Coast during the war represented in the figures that follow were not high, but these represent those upon which duties had

actually been paid.¹⁸⁶

From 1st April 1822 to 31st December 1822

Cape Coast	L41,693	3s	3½d
Accra	L 3,873	10s	2 d
Anomaboe	L 1,055	10s	3 d
Dixcove	L 52	3s	8 d

From 1st January to 31st December 1825¹⁸⁷

Cape Coast	L29,694	14s	8d
Accra	L 2,627	12s	0d
Anomaboe	L 606	17s	7d
Dixcove	L 565	14s	4d

The total available imports for the whole period are given below.

Imports into the Gold Coast from 1st April 1822 to 30th June 1826¹⁸⁸

	British	Foreign	Total
1822 1st Ap.-			
31st Dec.	L30,781 15s 8½d	L11,142 7s 4d	L41,924 3s 0½d
1823	L27,101 2s 9½d	L 3,591, 0s 8d	L30,692 3s 5½d
1824	L13,898 5s 0½d	L 4,289 17s 8d	L18,188 2s 8½d
1825	L30,578 3s 4½d	L 2,916 13s 2½d	L33,494 16s 7d
1826 to			
30th Ju.	L6,201 0s 11d	L 2,653 15s 10d	L8,854 16s 9d

Trade on the Gold Coast did not immediately recover from the depression into which it had fallen when the Asante war ended in 1826. In relation to other areas of West Africa trade on

186. C.O.267/93: Rowan Report.

187. Ibid.

188. C.O.267/93: Rowan Report. It would seem that this figure for 1822 represents only the imports to Cape Coast. The total for this period including imports to Accra, Anomaboe and Dixcove amounted to L46,673 17s 4½d. See, also, Metcalfe, Documents, 110.

the Gold Coast was not encouraging as the trade returns from the country indicated.¹⁸⁹

The low level of trade development on the Gold Coast was partially dependent upon environmental factors and the fact that a successful substitute had not yet been found for the slave trade: it was this need to find a new basis of exchange for European products that led Europeans to start plantations and to encourage indigenous agricultural production for exports. These attempts were, of course, not only limited to the Gold Coast but were made in other areas of West Africa as well, especially Sierra Leone.¹⁹⁰

The idea of cultivating agricultural products from the Gold Coast for exports was nothing new; experiments in plantation agriculture had been made and abandoned in the eighteenth century because of the opposition of vested interests to such enterprises in Africa.¹⁹¹ These new attempts represented efforts beyond the "kitchen gardens" which Europeans had maintained near the forts to cultivate temperate and local

189. See Appendix, Table of Total Declared Value of British and Irish Produce Exported from the United Kingdom to the West Coast of Africa.

190. John Peterson, Province of Freedom (London, 1969), 55-56; P. Curtin, The Image of Africa (Madison, 1964), 68-71, 123-39.

191. Wyndham, Atlantic and Slavery, 23; Martin, British West African Settlements, 48.

foods for their own use.¹⁹²

In order for the new economic activities of establishing and encouraging plantations to be successful, they had to be integrated into the existing farming patterns of the people. The method of farming although conditioned by environment was generally that of bush fallowing, by which plots of land were cleared and burnt each year for cultivation. Farm production was mainly in the hands of indigenous small-holders and the labour was provided mainly by slaves and women. No farm work was done on certain days regarded as sacred. This system of farming was much different from the system of plantations supported with foreign capital and maintained from the outside. Plantations on the western model required considerable labour fairly distributed throughout the year and stringent supervision. Another difficulty was the use of land and its relation to indigenous social organizations. The introduction of an alien plantation system on the Gold Coast was therefore going to encounter severe problems.¹⁹³ Any efforts to establish plantations could not succeed without a thorough mastery of tropical agriculture, some botanical knowledge and

192. Lawrence, Trade Castles, 37-38; Dickson, Historical Geography, 74-75.

193. On traditional land use and agriculture, see S. la Anyane, "Agriculture in the General Economy," and J. B. Wills, "The General Pattern of Land Use," in J. B. Wills (ed.), Agriculture and Land Use in Ghana (Oxford, 1962), 192-200 and 201-25.

experience of economic agriculture.

As early as 1689 the Dutch established tobacco, indigo, and cotton plantations near Shama on the River Pra,¹⁹⁴ and by 1700 there were further establishments at Axim, Butri, Butri, Sekondi, and Elmina from which cotton was exported.¹⁹⁵ The British also made attempts to cultivate cotton, indigo, pepper, ginger, tamarinds, orange, lemon, and palm trees early in the 1680's and the early part of the eighteenth century. In the 1689's, for example, there was a regular export of corn from the Gold Coast for slave ships.¹⁹⁶ This export was in part the result of the stimulus given by local agriculture by the slave trade. Sir Dalby Thomas in 1707 sent glowing reports about British plantation activities on the Gold Coast, but these attempts were opposed by the Board of Trade on the grounds that it was contrary to the national

194. W.I.C., 154, letter from Elmina dated 15 November 1689, quoted in Dickson, 75.

195. Ibid., letter from Elmina dated 10 October 1703, quoted in Dickson, Historical Geography, 75.

196. Curtin, Image, 69.

interest and that they were only tenants of the land leased from Africans.¹⁹⁷ By the middle of the eighteenth century there were suggestions in England for the development of African agriculture on an extensive scale and for shifting the centres of production of tropical goods from America to Africa.¹⁹⁸ The Danes were also interested in plantations, and their efforts in such experiments date back to 1769 when the Danish Government invited the Moravian brethren to introduce them on the Gold Coast. These early efforts failed probably because they were less rewarding than the more profitable undertaking of the slave trade.¹⁹⁹

Towards the end of the eighteenth century there was a renewed interest in plantations in Africa. The loss of Britain's colonies after the American Revolution did serious damage to the mercantilist system. The American colonies and the West Indies had been part of the South Atlantic system of British mercantilism and when after 1783 the French

197. Wyndham, Atlantic and Slavery, 22-23; Martin, British West African Settlements, 48 and William W. Claridge, A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, 2 vols. (London, 1918), I, 163.

198. Curtin, Image, 69-70.

199. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 173.

West Indians began to compete efficiently with the British, England had to find other alternatives if her sugar was not going to be driven out of the continental markets. With the slave trade under attack, there was the possibility of encouraging plantations in Africa which after 1783 began to have a following.²⁰⁰ In 1785 it was suggested that in order to recover from the loss of the American colonies they should shift from commerce to agriculture on the Gold Coast. According to this proposal three hundred convicts could be sent out as settlers and slaves and African forced labour could be used for the plantations.²⁰¹ In 1792 and 1793 the Sierra Leone Company made plantation attempts in Sierra Leone.²⁰² Other experiments also occurred at Bulama Island in the present Portuguese Guinea.²⁰³ Changes in the West Indies during the Napoleonic Wars, however, altered the possibilities for plantations in Africa. In 1802-1803, Haiti, an essential part of the French West Indies, defeated a French expedition-

200. Curtin, Image, 5-8.

201. Ibid., 102.

202. Ibid., 107.

203. Ibid., 110.

ary force and impaired the sugar colonies of France. After 1803 there was less reason for breaking the monopoly of the British West Indies by establishing new plantations in Africa when the British sugar islands held a seller's monopoly in tropical goods.²⁰⁴

Denmark was not the first country to see the wastefulness of sending African slaves across the Atlantic to work plantations, but was the first country to abolish the slave trade and to make attempts to replace it by plantation agriculture. In 1786, Ernst Schimmelmann, the Danish Minister of Finance, appointed a committee to look into the Danish slave trade which was not supporting itself, and plans were made to replace the slave trade by establishing plantations. Paul Isert, a Danish doctor and naturalist who had once visited the Gold Coast, seized upon this opportunity to go to Africa and to start them, with Schimmelmann's enthusiastic support and with public funds.²⁰⁵

204. Ibid., 140.

205. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 172-3; C. D. Adams, "Activities of Danish Botanists in Guinea 1783-1850," T.H.S.G. III (1957), 30-46 has an extended treatment of Danish plantation activities. Probably the best account of Danish plantation activities is H. Jeppesen "Danske Plantageanlag po Guldysten 1788-1850," Geografisk Tidsskrift, LXV (1966), 48-88.

Isert arrived on the Gold Coast in 1788 and proceeded to the island of Malfi up the Volta River to commence operations, but finding the site unhealthy he went to Akropong Akuapem where the chief, Obuobi Atiemo, leased him a piece of land for his work. The plantation prospered but Isert died in 1789.²⁰⁶ While Isert worked in Akuapem, two Danish traders, Peder Meyer and Niels Lather, also established plantations at Tubereku near Fort Kongensten²⁰⁷ at Ada. Tubereku was known for the salt and fish trade and it is possible the establishment of plantations there was influenced by this commerce. It was said that "the Tubereku Lake provides fish and salt for the towns under the Danish forts and for the populous nations of Asante, Akwamu and Agotime."²⁰⁸

In 1792 the decree abolishing the Atlantic slave trade removed the economic foundation of the Danish settlements on the Gold Coast and brought about suggestions in government circles that the possessions should be sold, but other interests favoured retaining them with the intention of cultivating the land and producing items such as cotton, sugar,

206. Isert's activities are still remembered in Akropong traditions. See Bennett Akuffo's Ahemfi Adesua, Akanfo Amamere (Akropong, 1950), 218.

207. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 74-75.

208. Generaltoldkammerets Arkiv, Sager til G.J. 1806-1808, G.J. pro 1808 No. 967 Flindt, 30 April 1807.

tobacco, and other tropical produce. Thus, in 1794, a number of Danes settled on the Gold Coast to cultivate the land and to trade.²⁰⁹

J. P. Wrisberg wrote to Denmark in 1797 that he had told the people in the Danish settlement that instead of slaves they would buy items like gold, cotton, coffee, indigo and other things they produced. Wrisberg hoped that buying such things from them would induce them to cultivate the land.²¹⁰ Wrisberg began a 17 acre cotton plantation/^{called Frederiksberg} worked by slaves who lived in cabins on it near the Fort at Christiansborg ~~called Frederiksberg~~. By the beginning of the nineteenth century plantations had become widespread among Danish traders on the coast. In 1801 J. N. Flindt started a plantation at Ejebo near Fort Kongensten where he successfully cultivated cotton and brewed liquor. In 1803-1804 P. Meyer established one at Bibiase near Oyarifa at the foot of the Akuapem hills where he grew cotton and coffee and used his slaves to construct a road to his plantation. Christian Schionning, who became Governor in 1807, also cultivated an extensive plantation at Dacubie at the foot of the Akuapem hills.²¹¹

209. V.G.R. og G. TK. Sager til G.J., 1794, No. 91.

210. V.G.R. og G. TK. G.J., 1798, No. 365.

211. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 192-3.

The work at both these plantations was performed by slave labour and was beginning to prosper when the Asante invasion of 1811 and the perpetual insecurity in the wake of the Asante wars destroyed them and, furthermore, are often blamed for the apparent failure of other early attempts at plantation.

Although Denmark had suffered serious reverses in her attempts to establish plantations on the Gold Coast, her interest in that enterprise never waned. In 1821 when a new Governor, Peter Svane Steffens, arrived on the coast, he made plans to revive Danish influence on the coast. Steffens' activities may have been motivated by the spreading of English influence at Accra. He reported that only one Danish merchant, H. Richter, had any worthwhile trade.²¹² Steffens was pleased to see that the mulattos were beginning to cultivate the land and applied for loans to help them. According to the Governor, the mulattos worked extremely hard on their plantations, but the lack of labour made life difficult for them.

There were many causes for the failure of the Danish plantations. H.C. Monrad, Danish chaplain on the Gold Coast from 1805-1809, commented that nothing much would become of the plantations as long as the Danish settlements remained in

212. G.J. 1821, Nos. 24 and 42.

the hands of hardened old slave traders.²¹³ A Danish commission report brought up another problem when it pointed out that whenever there were enough good crops there were not sufficient adequate roads to transport them. The report said that if the plantations were going to succeed it would be necessary to have a great deal of money expended in clearing away the forest and constructing roads and even if this were done, it would be a good number of years before they could realize any profit. Furthermore, the report stated that it was not the case that the best Danes came to the coast. And, since the Government could not protect the life and property of private people, in addition to bad communications between the plantations and the coast, they were never going to prosper. Soldiers and fortifications were consequently recommended for the settlements.²¹⁴ Among other reasons, it was because of the transportation problem that some Danes preferred plantations in the Volta area, because it was asserted

213. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 184.

214. G. TKo K. K. Indiske Kontor 1816-1841 Optengnelser og Akter til Brogfor forkellige Kommissioner til Undersogelse of Forhaldene in Guinea, document dated 1816, 83-90. These are documents used by various committees investigating Guinean affairs.

that the difficult transportation diminished income. There was also the problem of water in places like Akuapem during the dry season and the fact that Akuapem was never going to be safe from the Asantes.²¹⁵ To these observations on the failure of the plantations must be added the fact that it was difficult for the Danish settlers to be both traders and planters.

At the time when the Danes were trying to replace the slave trade with plantations, some efforts at cultivation were going on in the Dutch territory on the Gold Coast, for example, those of the mulatto, Jan Nieser, dating from 1784. Nieser had intensified his efforts after 1810, and, when General Daendels arrived on the coast in 1816 he had prosperous plantations.²¹⁶ Some Africans, especially the mulatto Danish descendants like Lutterodt and Hesse, maintained plantations at the fort of the Akuapem Hills,²¹⁷ and as late as the 1860's Horton reported that some of the merchants on the coast maintain-

215. Akter og Materialier vedkommende den Guineiske Kommission of 9 January 1833 Gen Toldkammert vestindieske og Guineiske.

216. Daendels, Correspondence, 15 November 1816, Jan Nieser to Daendels.

217. Akter og Materialier vedkommende den Guineiske Kommission of 9 January 1833 Gen Toldkammert vestindieske og Guineiske.

ed plantations.²¹⁸

Dutch attempts to encourage plantation agriculture as viable alternatives to the slave trade began in earnest under Governor Daendels. The Governor made a proposal to the Dutch Department of Trade and Colonies suggesting that a number of prominent families who might have been impoverished should come to the Gold Coast with the remainder of their fortunes to undertake cultivation, but nothing came of this proposal.²¹⁹ Shortly after his arrival, he secured four pieces of land along the Sweet River at Simbo where he cultivated cotton with his two sons. He had hoped to buy 300 slaves from Asante, who were to earn their freedom by working in the plantations, but these plans never matured. It is thought that part of the reason for the failure of the Governor's plantation schemes was the lack of regular labour.²²⁰

Governor Daendels was also interested in getting Asante to supply cotton for export. In February, 1817, he wrote to W. Hydercooper, the Dutch envoy to Kumasi, to try and

218. See J. Africanus Horton, West African Countries and Peoples (London, 1868), 149. Even in the late 1890's the plantation of the historian Carl Reindorf was supplying coffee to some Europeans on the coast. F. Hart, The Gold Coast Its Wealth and Health (London, 1904), 180.

219. A.V.M.K.3987, 6 December 1816 (F.C.).

220. A.V.M.K.3988, 22 May 1817 (F.C.).

obtain from all the chiefs who had received presents from him or from other interested rulers 3-4,000 lbs. of cleaned cotton to be sent to the coast in bales of 50 lbs. each. He told W. Hydercooper that if the quality could be increased to 10,000 or 20,000 lbs. he would pay a quarter in powder, a quarter in liquor, a quarter in cloth and a quarter in sundry articles.²²¹

In 1817 Governor Daendels wrote the Asantehene to get his people to plant cotton throughout his kingdom in the next rainy season between the crops.²²² To further his cotton interest in Asante, he sent an agent to Kumasi to negotiate a contract for the delivery of 100,000 lbs. of cotton. However, the Asantehene refused to sign a contract because of the uncertainty about the quality and the price of the cotton.²²³ The Dutch General went so far as to approach the British about a joint establishment on the Ancobra River to promote cultivation and trade. Daendels had hoped that such an

221. Ibid., Daendels to W. Hydercooper, 15 February 1817.

222. Ibid., Daendels to King of Asante, 15 February 1817.

223. Ibid., Report of Frans Bartelig, 10 April 1817.

establishment would be suitable for forming plantations of colonial products as well as a place where speculators would be able to devote themselves to cultivation without danger. Needless to say, nothing came out of these efforts.²²⁴ The vigorous cultivations efforts of the Dutch under Daendels waned after he died in 1818 and were not to be revived until the 1840's.

The British also gave encouragement to plantation and cultivation as alternatives to the slave trade. During the days of the slave trade the Gold Coast settlements had fitted into the mercantilist economic philosophy of the day and provided the labour for the West Indian plantations as affirmed by a group of Liverpool merchants when they wrote:

It is a lamentable but certain fact that Africa has hitherto been sacrificed to our West Indian colonies. Her commerce has been confined to a trade which seemed to preclude all advancement in cultivation; her cultivators have been made to promote cultivation and improvement in agriculture have been discouraged by the Government of this country lest her products should interfere with those of our more favoured colonies.²²⁵

With abolition, the Company of Merchants trading with Africa urged British traders on the Gold Coast to promote

224. Ibid., letter of S. Cock of African Office dated 19 January 1816; 8, 12 April 1816, and 22 April 1817.

225. T.70/73: Liverpool Merchants to Treasury, 29 April 1812.

cultivation and the export of agricultural products. They were asked to spend their leisure hours clearing small plots for cultivation.²²⁶ To this end the Committee of Merchants periodically sent seeds to the coast to be planted, and made persistent inquiries concerning progress.²²⁷ Cotton grew wild on the Gold Coast and it was felt that its systematic cultivation would yield greater quantities for export. In 1809 it was reported that the Governor had started a garden five miles outside Cape Coast where he grew cotton and coffee,²²⁸ and, in 1811, he was able to send samples of cotton grown in his garden to England.²²⁹

To encourage the people of the Gold Coast to engage in cultivation, British merchants on the coast suggested that they should be provided with agricultural implements and generous advance payments for the items they would produce.

We are certain that an extensive cultivation would be substituted for this unnatural traffic, provided we are furnished with the means of offering the natives sufficient encouragement. To this end we would be

226. T.70/73: S. Cock to E. Cooke, 20 and 26 September 1808, Metcalfe, Documents, 12-14.

227. T.70/73: African Office to Cape Castle, 4 August 1809 and T.70/74, T.70/35: Governor to African Committee, 5 May 1809; Metcalfe, Documents, 14.

228. T.70/35: Governor to the African Committee, 5 May 1809.

229. T.70/35: Governor to the African Committee, 18 January 1811.

authorised to supply them with agricultural implements, and to purchase their produce at a fixed price, giving even beyond its value for a limited period; when being assured of a certain demand, they would be induced to extend their plantations and in a few years it is hoped that the example will be followed all over the Gold Coast. 230

It is significant that the African Committee instructed Dupuis to obtain land for cultivation when he was appointed consul to Asante. The Committee wrote:

One object most desirable to obtain, as it would essentially assist in the realization of the views of Government, might perhaps be a grant from the King of Ashantee, of a district about 25 miles from the coast, subject to a certain perpetual annual rent, with full liberty to clear and cultivate the same and erect houses, etc. 231

The Company of Merchants was not the only group to encourage cultivation. The African Institution also championed this purpose. The Institution believed that the wrongs that Africa suffered during the slave trade could be repaired through the arts of civilization and that the diffusion of information concerning agriculture and commercial facilities would influence Africa for the good.²³² The African Institution corresponded with people in Africa interested in cultivation,

230. T.70/36: Cape Coast Council to Committee of Merchants, 23 July 1818.

231. C.O.2/10: S. Cock to Dupuis, 31 October 1818; Metcalfe, Documents, 53-54.

232. African Institution, 1st Report, 1809, 1-3.

including the Governor of Cape Coast Castle, and Henry Meredith, the Governor of the Winneba Fort.²³³

In writing to their correspondents in Africa in 1809 the African Institution tried to impress upon them the desirability of planting cotton. Due to hostilities about alleged freedom of the seas (1807-1812) and the war (1812-1814) between England and the United States, the Institution thought that no article could better pay the cultivator than cotton,²³⁴ because of the American embargo.²³⁵

Henry Meredith, Governor of Winneba, was probably one of the strongest advocates of plantations on the Gold Coast, for he had hoped that under the auspices of the African Institution new changes would take place that would bring the Gold Coast to the attention of Great Britain.²³⁶ He ventured to impress upon the British public that the soil and climate of the Gold Coast were equal to those of the West Indies, if not surpassing them for the purposes of plantation when he wrote:

233. Ibid., 2nd Report, 1811, 8.

234. African Institution, 3rd Report, 1814, 5.

235. The Embargo Act was passed by Congress on 22 December 1807 in response to the alleged British infringement of American freedom of the High Seas. The Embargo stopped the export of American goods and prohibited American vessels leaving American ports. This policy was described as peaceable coercion. The Act was repealed in June, 1809, and replaced by the Nonintercourse Act.

236. Meredith, Gold Coast of Africa, ii.

"The climate of the Gold Coast will be found as temperate and salubrious as the West Indies; and if it is cultivated, it would probably surpass the West Indies in point of salubrity."²³⁷ He further stated that:

If, therefore, the Gold-coast of Africa is entitled to be classed with the West-Indies in all those qualities, there remains no longer a doubt of its producing every article that will grow there; and as land and labour can be purchased at a lower rate, it would be strange indeed, if sugar, rum, coffee, indigo, etc. etc. could not be produced from it on terms as advantageous as from the West.²³⁸

Meredith considered two types of cultivation, one to be attempted by Europeans and the other to be undertaken by the indigenous people. In his view the only obstacle before European plantations was that of the insecurity of property; but once this impediment was removed, he felt that cultivation could be carried on to any extent with success and advantage. Cotton, coffee, sugar-cane, rice, and indigo were items that he thought could be grown with profits.²³⁹ He thought that labourers could be easily procured in large numbers, but he felt that those secured through pawning would be better, as

237. Ibid., iii-iv.

238. Ibid., v.

239. Ibid., 211.

he explained:

But the most certain method of securing labourers, rendering them more useful, and more attached to the interest of the planter, would be to take a number of pawns. They are procured by advancing a sum upon security, usually from one to two ounces, and allowing them one ackey a month for subsistence, or otherwise satisfying their wants in that respect. They in general labour willingly, if treated kindly, and punctually paid. In course of time, they become attached to their employer, and would assist in guarding him against encroachments of any kind. ²⁴⁰

Although it was possible to secure pawns this way, Meredith's description here was not really a classic example of pawning. ²⁴¹

According to Meredith the people would not attend to the work of cultivation, unless an example were set before them. ²⁴² His murder in 1812 brought an end to these attempts. Although the British efforts at cultivation continued during the second decade of the nineteenth century it appears that they were half-hearted. In 1818 James Lucas Yeo wrote that the company garden outside Cape Coast, which was simply a piece of ground with little or nothing in it, although they paid a gardener L50 a year for it, did not produce even enough vegetables for the Governor's table. ²⁴³ The company normally blamed the lack of success on disputes among the

240. Ibid., 212-13.

241. See Chapter I, p. 57 .

242. Meredith, Gold Coast of Africa, 213.

243. C.O.267/48 and T.70/1604/1: James L. Yeo to Wilson Crowther, 12 March 1818; Metcalfe, Documents, 50-53.

"natives,"²⁴⁴ idleness of the people, poor quality of the soil and destructive ants. According to Yeo, agriculture on the Gold Coast would never flourish as long as the representatives of the company on the coast made their own commercial pursuits the chief object of their attention.²⁴⁵

Not only were the merchants on the coast unenthusiastic about plantations, but the local people were slow to respond to them. As the Governor of Cape Coast Castle wrote:

I, and so do many of your officers give encouragement to Industry and Agriculture, to what permanent good does it tend? If any Gentleman who has been in this country bears his memory, that the natives of Africa consider a framfram soup and a little corn a luxurious mean (as they do to this day and in my opinion to the last,) if such a gentleman will consider that a people so easily satisfied, so trained to idleness from their infancy to allot to females the labor they themselves ought to perform; so bigotted to the customs of their forefathers, I am inclined to think that he with all others possessed of a knowledge of Africa, will be of the opinion with me that unsuccessful will be all endeavours to civilize or dispose to Agriculture the natives of it.²⁴⁶

Although the Governor might have overstated his case, his statement was not idle speculation. Implicit in it was

244. T.70/35: Governor to African Committee, 26 December 1809; Metcalfe, Documents, 14-15.

245. C.O.267/48 and T.70/1604/1: James C. Yeo to Wilson Crowther, 12 March 1818; Metcalfe, Documents, 50-53.

246. T.70/36: Governor to Committee of Merchants, 30 April 1814.

the basic problem of economic development and change. For in any growth from a traditional economy to an exchange economy, changes, in the cultural, institutional and cultural structures of the people are necessary. Evidently, in the case of the Gold Coast, the process of growth involved more than simply reshaping or changing the economic structure of the people.²⁴⁷ The degree of change to be effected differed from place to place according to the nature of available local resources, initiative, attitudes, and aptitudes of the people.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, the people did not have the incentive to work harder. Most of them were not conditioned to need the things money could buy and which they could not produce or procure locally. They also had traditional uses for leisure--including major religious^u and social obligations--which they would be highly reluctant to curtail. In this context the often alleged laziness of the people and the lack of labour on the Gold Coast should be viewed in terms of the social and economic institutions of the people. Bauer and Yamey have written that:

In subsistence agriculture in particular, as well as in many other farming pursuits, the demands on labour vary

247. Bert F. Hoselitz, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth (Chicago, 1960), 1, 12 and 26; United Nations, Enlargement of the Exchange Economy, 1 and 34.

248. Bauer and Yamey, Economics of Under-Developed Countries, 4.

greatly with the seasons. Labour which appears to be idle during one season may be indispensable at times of planting or harvesting. There is thus a large element of part-time or seasonal employment...Agricultural production in some cases may be greatly reduced if the necessary supply is not on hand in times of peak demand for labour. ²⁴⁹

A recent study of the traditional utilization of labour in agriculture on the Lower Volta in Ghana has also concluded that:

The low level of labour input into farming is largely a function of the short seasonal demand for traditional farming. The main labour requirement is at planting season which lasts for some four to six weeks in April to May and labour requirements fall off after that since less labour is required for weeding. ²⁵⁰

Even at the peak of the demand of agricultural labour, the farmers worked an average of 3.25 hours a day and a total of 24 days in the month. ²⁵¹ It is estimated that even in the modern day the average Ghanaian farmer only works 160-200 days per year.

Thus the effort to find a production based economy to replace the slave trade has to be viewed in the light of the internal and the external contexts. Internally one must

249. Ibid., 32-33.

250. Rowena M. Lawson, "The Traditional Utilization of Labour in Agriculture on the Lower Volta, Ghana," E.B.G., XII, 1 (1968), 59.

251. Ibid., 60.

recognize that there is always a resistance to a new money economy. As two economists have put it:

In economically backward societies there are difficulties in the way of developing and using the entrepreneurial qualities. The force of custom, the rigidity of status, and the distrust of new ideas and of the exercise of intellectual curiosity combine to create an atmosphere inimical to experiment and innovation.²⁵²

Obviously abolition did not encourage the people to engage in a plantation economy when it deprived them of part of the market for their surplus agricultural products.²⁵³ The Asante wars and the problems of transportation were paramount. Production could not proceed well during wars and, without adequate transport, the goods produced could not easily reach the market. In fact, it was the very problem of transportation that placed a Danish Governor in the position of urging his people to concentrate their plantations in the coastal areas and places near the Volta River.²⁵⁴

For Europeans who wanted to encourage plantations, the idea of merchants engaging in planting and normal trading activities was an uneasy combination. Both occupations demanded full time attention and one could not succeed without

252. Bauer and Yamey, Economics in Under-Developed Countries, 103.

253. Parl. Papers, 1816; Evidence of James Swanzy, 45; Ibid., letter to J. Mollan dated 26 April 1814, and T.70/1598 (1), 19 April 1814, Report of Diggles Bayless.

254. G. Tko K.K. Indiske Koutor 1816-1841, Optegnelser og Akter til Borg for Kellige Kommissioner til Undersogelse af Forholdene in Guinea, 94.

the neglect of the other. Again on the Gold Coast, where most land was communally owned and where people who were not members of the society could not own land, securing land for plantation purposes was difficult.

The attempt to make the Gold Coast a producer of tropical products also presented serious problems since the concept did not fit into the mercantilist philosophy of the day and, furthermore, vested interests in the West Indian trade were not going to accept such development unconditionally. They were bound to protect their interest. The heavy duties imposed on African produce (given in table below) therefore, might not have been without effect upon the production based economy because the transformation of subsistence economies is also largely dependent upon trade in world markets.²⁵⁵

Table showing the gross value (including duty) of the different articles imported into this country from Africa, with the duty payable on each ²⁵⁶

Article	Gross Value	Duty
Cotton wool	1/6-3s per lb.	25/3 $\frac{1}{4}$ per 100 lb.*
Barwood	L12-L28 per ton†	31/8 $\frac{1}{2}$ per ton
Camwood	L25-L55 per ton†	32/0 1/3 per ton
Guinea grains or Malaguetta pepper	65s-90s per cwt.+	38/2/5 per cwt.

255. United Nations, Scope and Structure of Money Economies in Tropical Africa (New York, 1955), 1.

256. 3rd Report, African Institution, 27.

Article	Gross Value	Duty
Gum copal	1/6-4/6 per lb.	1/17/12 per lb.
Gum senegal	95s-110s per cwt.	5/8 per cwt.
Ebony	L12-L22 per ton†	17/3 33/40 per ton
Elephants' teeth	L12-L35 per cwt.+++	63/10 1/10 per cwt.
Palm oil	45s-75s per cwt.	12/2 7/10 per cwt.
Bird pepper	4d-8d per lb.	5 4/20d per lb.
Bees' wax	150s-210s per cwt.+	51/4 per cwt.
Ginger	75s-85s per cwt.	43/4**-7/10 cwt.*
Unrated wood		L27 3/4 per cwt. <u>ad valorem</u> customs 3d per lb. excise 2s per lb.++

* The duty payable on British plantation, East-Indian and Turkey cotton wool, is only 16/10½ per 100 lb.

** The duty payable on British plantation ginger is only 19/0½ per cwt.

† The price first mentioned is about the usual price in time of peace: that last mentioned is the price to which the article occasionally rises in time of war.

++ The excise on West-Indian coffee is only 3d per lb.; on East-Indian java, bourbon and mocha coffee, only 6d per lb.

+++ The price of this article varies according to its size: the larger teeth bringing L30 and upwards per cwt. The small teeth, called scrivellos, from L12-L20 per cwt.

As early as 1809 the African Institution and merchants interested in the African trade complained about the high duties imposed on produce from Africa.²⁵⁷ For example, in that year palm oil, an important ingredient in the manufacture of soap and the demand for which was being enhanced by the high price of Russian tallow, was being taxed by a duty five times as

257. African Institution, 3rd Report, 1809, 25.

much as that paid by foreign tallow.²⁵⁸ In 1815 a bill was passed in the House of Commons to allow the import of certain articles from Africa by paying the same duties as those from the West Indies, but the House of Lords postponed it until the next session. The bill was opposed by West Indian interests on the grounds that it ^{violated} ~~isolated~~ the rights of planters in regard to such important articles as coffee and cotton wool. Although there might have been a basis for objection on these West Indian produced articles there was no reason for opposing the reduction on items like palm oil, ivory, dye wood, ebony, pepper, and gum copal.²⁵⁹

More important in the attempts to find an alternative commerce to replace the slave trade were internal factors, like the traditional economy. That the Gold Coast traditional economy could continue functioning after the interdiction of the Atlantic slave trade which had for centuries been part of the economic landscape showed the viability of the indigenous commercial life at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Since Asante was the major supplier for the Atlantic slave trade one would have assumed that abolition would have

258. Ibid., 27.

259. T.70/36: African Merchants of Liverpool to the Committee of Merchants, 6 September 1815.

affected her more than other states and that the loss of income from the trade might have had serious internal repercussions for Asante Union, but this did not happen. Besides the slaves that Asante sold in the overseas trade, she had another equally valuable product--the kola nut which she sold in the markets of her hinterland. In fact, recent study has shown that the development of Asante trade with Hausa, especially at Salaga was in part a response to the decline and abolition of the slave trade.²⁶⁰ Consequently abolition was not very ~~damaging~~ to the Asante economy.

Several factors contributed to enhance development of Asante trade along the northeastern route through Salaga that joined the major Hausa and Western Sudan trade routes. The moving of Hausa and other Muslim traders into Dagomba and eastern Gonja towards the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century stimulated the development of the north eastern road. Furthermore, the Islamic reform that took place in Hausaland late in the eighteenth century, culminating in Uthman ^W Dan Fodio's jihad in 1804 denied the use of alcoholic stimulants, which stimulated the demand for kola. Thus the

260. See Ivor Wilks, "Asante Policy towards the Hausa Trade in the Nineteenth Century" in Meillassoux (ed.), The Development of African Trade and Markets in West Africa.

development of the northeastern trade route, with Salaga evolving as a major commercial centre, helped to meet the new demand for kola as well as provide an alternate market to Asante. With the outlet for slaves removed it was no wonder that Salaga which was linked with the kola trade was developed in accordance with Asante government policy.²⁶¹

Bowdich noted the importance of the Asante trade along the eastern trade route and their preference for the markets of the Asante hinterland rather than the coastal markets when he wrote:

The preference of the Ashantee for the Dagwumba and Inta markets for silk and cloth, results not merely from their having been so long accustomed to it, but because they admit of a barter trade. The Boosee or Gooroo nut, salt, (which is easily procured, and affords an extravagant profit,) and small quantities of European commodities, rum, and iron, yield them those articles of comfort and luxury which they can only purchase with gold and ivory from the settlements on the coast.²⁶²

While a state like Asante was not much damaged economically by abolition, other states like those on the coast had to make adjustments in relation to the overseas external trade and consequently the attempts to find other products to replace the slave trade was perhaps more important in trading with Europeans.

261. Ibid.

262. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 334.

It is easy to dismiss the early attempts at finding a production based economy for the Gold Coast as a failure, but it must be conceded, however grudgingly, that they were not without success. Gold exports from the Gold Coast which had been drastically reduced since the middle of the eighteenth century became important again after abolition. The Danes during their cultivation efforts learned what kind of soil and conditions were best for coffee growing on the Gold Coast.²⁶³ Some attention was also being directed to the production of palm oil and, by 1819, some agricultural produce like corn was being exported from Accra and Secondi to ^AMedi~~era~~ and the West Indies.²⁶⁴

At the end of the third decade of the nineteenth century there were no far reaching changes in the structure of trade, and the character of the imports and exports remained basically unchanged since the era of the slave trade. Any changes could take place only as a result of the increasing participation in production for market of the traditional economy.²⁶⁵

263. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 182; G. Tko K. K. Indiske Koutor 1816-1841, Optegnelser og Akter til Brog for Kellige Kommissioner til Undersogelse af Forholdene in Guinea, 16.

264. Thomas E. Bowdich, The British and French Expeditions to Teembo, with Remarks on Civilization in Africa (Paris, 1821), 12.

265. United Nations, Enlargement of the Economy, 1.

As long as the basic needs of the people are supplied from subsistence production with the incentive to earn cash limited to the need to acquire some luxury items,²⁶⁶ the point is reached when leisure is preferred to cash incomes. Furthermore, the traditional interior trade and markets seemingly adequately served the economic needs of the people. Although by 1828, as was the case at the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were elements of a modern market economy, the changes in the institutional structure of the people and the transformation needed in the traditional economy to bring about modernization of the commercial life of the Gold Coast had not yet taken place.

266. Ibid., 38.

CHAPTER III

"LEGITIMATE" TRADE AND ECONOMIC CHANGE, 1828-1850

The wars between Asante and their southern neighbours, supported by the English and the Danes, resulted in a victory for the allies in 1826 at the Battle of Katamansu. These wars (1823-1824 and 1826) had disrupted the peace and commercial life of the country, and, as was the case at the inception of hostilities, prospects for trade after the defeat of Asante were not promising. Rankling hatred which subsisted between the British allies on the coast who were fighting and squabbling among themselves had severed communications with the interior and trade was almost annihilated.¹ This invariably led to retrenchment in some of the European commercial establishments on the coast.

Despite their reversals, the failure of their plantation attempts and the diminishing returns from their settlements, Denmark showed remarkable resilience. Hoping to commence a profitable trade between the West Indies and the Gold Coast, a Danish investigating committee which arrived in the country in 1827 constructed a mill to export maize flour. These attempts to export flour were unprofitable, as it was fit only for pigs on arrival in the West

1. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, I, 170.

Indies.² In 1827 the Danes also sent a mission up the Volta River to ascertain the economic value of the forests along the banks of the river. This expedition under the leadership of H. G. Lind left Christiansborg in December and returned in February 1828. It reported that there was enough timber along the river banks to build between 200 and 300 ships, but the expense of transportation to Denmark was prohibitive. Further the mission felt it would be unwise to establish settlements along the river because it was swampy and unhealthy. Nonetheless it intimated the Danes could profit from the salt production at Ada.³

That the new attempts of the Danes to develop their settlements coincided with the beginnings of the palm oil trade in the eastern region was no coincidence; the attitude of Danish officials at Christainsborg towards the peace treaty after the Asante war underlined a new economic interest in the eastern region. Since the Danish merchants had a number of high-ranking Asante prisoners, their cooperation was essential for the conclusion of any peace treaty. When the question of a money deposit to ensure that Asante

187-8.² Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa,

3. G. J., 1828, No. 141.

kept the peace in the future arose in 1827, the Danes demanded that half of the sum should be deposited at Christiansborg but the British authorities declined to consider the request.⁴ The Danish Governor Brock protested against the British attitude and informed the latter that they would make their own treaty with Asante. Another element of contention was the extent to which the eastern states of Akyem, Akuapem and Akwamu were under the authority of the Danes.⁵

In March 1830, the Danes and the British signed an agreement forbidding separate treaties with Asante and bidding both nations to conclude peace with Asante on equal terms.⁶

The peace treaty talks between the British and the Danes were interrupted by a quarrel between the British Commandant at Accra and the Danish Governor. Fry, the British Commandant, had been annoyed by the fact that when British ships anchored off Accra, traders from the Danish settlements had boarded them before their British rivals to the detriment of the latter. But as Metcalfe has pointed

4. Metcalfe, Maclean, 49.

5. Ibid.

6. Norregard, Danish Settlements, 200 and Metcalfe, Maclean, 80-81.

out British Captains would not have gone to Christiansborg to trade if it had not paid them to do so.⁷ When the matter reached the Committee of Merchants they suggested that the ships calling at the Gold Coast should be visited first by their own nationals, in which case British and Danes would be the first to visit their own ships.⁸

Meanwhile to get the peace talks going, Asante prisoners held by the Danes had to be released. H. Richter, the Danish merchant, held a number of the important Asante prisoners and it is surprising that he, together with James Bannerman, cooperated heartily with Maclean on the peace treaty.⁹ It is very likely that in order to persuade him to give up his slaves Maclean had to make a concession to Richter to enable him to trade with British ships on equal terms with British merchants. Such a concession to Richter would be the most likely explanation of the conflict between him, on the one hand, and Governor Hein and the merchant Lutterodt/^{on the other,} which split the Danes into two parties in 1831.¹⁰

Despite the agreement of March 1830 stipulating that the Danes and the British sign a treaty on equal terms, the

7. Metcalfe, Maclean, 82-84.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. G.J., 1832, Nos. 283, 285 and 300

latter concluded peace with Asante in April 1831 in violation of that agreement. The peace concluded prevented a major war until 1863. By the peace treaty the Asantehene gave two hostages, his son and nephew, to the British authorities, and deposited 600 ounces of gold at Cape Coast Castle with the understanding that these securities were to remain in the castle for a period of six years. For the better regulation of commerce it was stipulated that "the paths shall be perfectly open and free to all persons engaged in lawful traffic and persons molesting them in any way whatever, or enforcing them to purchase at any particular market, or influencing them by any unfair means whatever, shall be declared guilty of infringing this treaty and be liable to the severest punishment." Another important provision was that "panyarring, denouncing, and swearing, on or by any person or thing whatever, are hereby strictly forbidden, and all persons infringing this rule shall be rigorously punished and no master or chief shall be answerable for the crimes of his servants, unless done by his orders or consent, or when under his contract." The Asantehene also renounced his suzerainty over Denkyera, Assin and other coastal states.¹¹ This treaty accepted at

11. Reindorf, Gold Coast and Asante, 2nd ed., 252-3.

Cape Coast by the chiefs in the western region remained to be ratified by the people of the eastern region,¹² but it seems instead of signing a proper treaty, they only assented to the terms on 27 April 1831.¹³ The omission of the eastern region, especially Akuapem and Krobo, from the treaty and the question of whether those people were Danish allies or subjects inevitably resulted in a clash between George Maclean and the Danish Governor Morch from 1835-1839.¹⁴

As early as 1821 English traders at Accra were reported to be sending presents to Akuapem in order to obtain trade, and by the 1830's there were rumours of the British attempts to bribe Akuapem and Akyem to detach themselves from the Danish interest. Undoubtedly the basis of British interest in Akuapem was economic and at times when the eastern region was becoming economically important because of the palm oil trade, conflict between the two powers was inevitable. The unavoidable dissention occurred after Frederick S. Morch became the Governor of the Danish settlements in December 1834. Morch made the most

12. Metcalfe, Maclean, 88.

13. Ibid., 92 and 95.

14. Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 207.

redoubtable efforts to extend Danish influence and to effect control of the eastern district. His efforts to assert control over this region were denied by the British, but Morch based his claim on the treaty with the "Republic of Krobo" that Isert in his ignorance of the area had concluded in 1787 with Obuobi Attiemo, the Paramount Chief of Akuapem. When Morch arrived on the coast he thought that the Akuapem were pro-British and went there in 1835 to find out the true situation for himself.¹⁵ While in Akuapem he discovered that sub-chiefs there had revolted against Ado Dankwa, the Paramount Chief, and that there was a conflict between them and the Krobos over Akuapem's claim over them. The Governor attempted to settle the dispute between Akuapem and Krobo and invited the Krobos to come to Akropong. The Krobos politely refused because they felt their presence in Akuapem would mean yielding to Ado Dankwa's claim over them. They told Morch they would gladly do him homage in Krobo. Misunderstanding the situation, the Governor sent a punitive expedition against the Krobos; the Akuapems, who had a grudge against them, gladly participated. The expedition was quickly over with the Akuapems destroying some of the palm oil plantations of their enemies. The

15. Ibid., 206.

Krobos were fined 1,500 heads of cowries and because they had no means of paying, had to relinquish their palm oil harvest. The Danish merchant, H. Richter, farmed the fine and received the palm oil in compensation from the Krobos.¹⁶

The payment of Krobo oil to H. Richter for their fine meant that no oil was reaching the British merchants, and African traders who had been advanced goods could not meet their obligations.¹⁷ The dispute over Krobo led to a conflict between Morch and Maclean. Initially, Morch received the support of the Danish government in the matter, but later they came to side with the British and asked their Governor not to do anything that might harm British trade on the Gold Coast. In the meantime, devastated by his failures, Morch became an alcoholic and died in 1839. Although as late as 1842 Governor Edward Carstensen was attempting to involve the Danes in the palm oil trade,¹⁸ it seemed that the days of the Danish settlements were numbered.

16. Metcalfe, Maclean, 198-200 and M. A. Kwamena-Po, "Government and Politics in the Akwapem State," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1968), 231-7.

17. Ibid.

18. G.J., 1842, No. 347.

Meanwhile, however, the Danish invitation to the Basel Missionary Society of Switzerland to start mission work on the Gold Coast in 1828 was to have far reaching consequences for the economy.¹⁹ These missionaries, who were always thoroughly trained in mission and trade methods at Basel, were a valuable body of men, not only in their evangelical work, but also as pioneers in every kind of endeavour intended to improve and to promote what they considered to be the social interests of those among whom they laboured. Many of the early missionaries died, and the mission had achieved little by 1843. In that year Andreas Riis, who had arrived on the coast in 1832 and had in 1835 moved to Akropong Akuapem, went to Jamaica to recruit six West Indian families (twenty-four people) to settle at Akropong as the nucleus of a Christian congregation in order to show the indigenous population that Christianity was not just for the white man.²⁰ Although some of the West Indians returned to Jamaica, others remained to leave a lasting contribution to the development of the Ghana Presbyterian Church. The names of some of them and their

19. The trading activities of the Basel missionaries are discussed in Chapter V.

20. N. T. Clerk, A Short Centenary Sketch, The Settlement of the West Indian Immigrants on the Gold Coast 1843-1943 (Accra, 1943), 1-8.

descendants like Hall, Clerk, and Mullings are landmarks in the history of the Ghana Presbyterian Church.

The Basel Mission secured land for their recruits and mission. The West Indians who had brought with them coffee, cocoa, tobacco, cocoyam, and other tropical fruits went to work soon after their arrival growing cash crops.²¹ The cultivation work of the West Indians and the Basel Mission was especially encouraged by the presence of Joseph Mohr, who arrived at Akropong in 1847. Mohr's plantation became proverbial in Akuapem and the expression "Owura Mohr Turoo mu" (Mr. Mohr's garden) in Akropong denotes orderliness, perfection and cleanliness.²² Successful in their undertakings, the West Indians planted a wide variety of products-- yams, cocoyams, coffee, groundnuts, and cotton²³ but they experienced some difficulty in selling their products on the coast because of transportation obstacles.²⁴ The

21. Noel Smith, The Presbyterian Church of Ghana (London, 1965), 60; Von Gustaf Adof Wanner, Herausge-genben von der Basler Handels (Basle, 1960), 164.

22. The original Mohr plantation which still contains a number of fruit trees is behind the writer's house at Akropong-Akuapem.

23. H. W. Debrunner, A History of Christianity in Ghana (Accra, 1967), 129.

24. B.M.A., Correspondence from the Gold Coast, Report of Mission Conference, 21 March 1848.

Christians from Jamaica, however, carried on profitable trade in selling goundnut oil.²⁵ Because of their initial success, the Basel missionaries, at their quarterly conference at Akropong in August 1850, requested aid from Britain through the firm of Forster and Smith so as to enable the Jamaicans to start bigger plantations, but nothing came of the request.²⁶ The interests of the Basel Mission were to be carried a stage further in the 1850's when agriculturalists were sent out to commence experimental schools for farmers.

The only plantation effort of note between 1828-1850 in the British sphere of influence was that begun by James Swanzy in 1836. In that year he secured from the Governor of the settlements the old government farm located some five miles from Cape Coast Castle and started a plantation called "Napoleon." Some of the money for the development of the plantation was furnished by the London Merchant House of Forster and Smith. Swanzy employed a hundred Africans, mostly slaves who were hired from their owners, to grow cotton and coffee at "Napoleon." They worked under

25. Personal communication from the Rev. E. T. Koramoa who is himself a grandson of John Hall of the West Indian group, 25 March 1969.

26. B.M.A., Quarterly Meeting at Akropong, 19-24 August 1850.

the supervision of a European manager and the rate of ^{pay} labour was ^{from} between 1½d to 3d per day. Cotton flourished at "Napoleon" but due to the shortness of the staple it fetched low prices and proved an unprofitable speculation. The Coffee also grew well, but as long as African coffee paid a duty of 1s 3d per pound while that from the West Indies paid 6d, there was no hope of "Napoleon" making a profit on that crop. In 1841 Swanzy gave up his plantation, and it was taken over by the Methodist missionaries who set up as a model plantation, "Beula."²⁷ According to Andrew Swanzy, the plantation declined because of the local government's interference with the use of pawn labour on the coast.²⁸

The Dutch, too, renewed their half-hearted attempts at cultivation near Elmina in 1846. In that year a Brazilian named La Rocha Vierra was brought to the Dutch settlement to start cotton plantations. Vierra, a former school master who was accustomed to the system of slavery in Brazil, was unable to manage free unskilled labourers

27. Henry Swanzy, "A Trading Family in the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast," T.G.C.T.H.S., II, pt. 2 (1956), 97.

28. Parl. Papers 1842, XI, Qs. 4815, 4816 and 4826, Evidence of A. Swanzy. Obviously the attempt of Madden to enforce the abolition of domestic and pawn labour on the Gold Coast deprived Swanzy of the workers he employed on his plantation.

on the plantation and lost control of his workers when he did not receive any support from Dutch government authorities in his dealings with the labourers. He was disliked by the Dutch officials on the coast and, because of differences with them and their harassment of him, Vierra secretly embarked on a ship for Bahia, without even claiming the salary which was still owed to him.²⁹ In 1848, further unsuccessful attempts were made to cultivate tobacco at Elmina and at Simbo.

The Dutch blamed their failures on the indolence of the people claiming that:

The laziness of the people, and their unwillingness to work, was a stumbling-block that no manager could get over. The labourers were constantly running away, particularly after receiving the wage of a few days labour. They then declared that they must go home and take their ease for a short time. On the slightest remonstrance or opposition to these resolutions, they ran away. Everywhere messengers were on foot to track out deserters and bring them back to work; but all attempts were fruitless. All attempts to establish a tobacco culture were shipwrecked on the unwillingness, laziness, and indifference of the natives to stick to their work.³⁰

As was often the case, instead of looking at the economic and cultural life of the people to ascertain why inhabitants

29. C. J. M. Nagtglas, What Must the Netherlands Do with Her Settlements on the Coast of Guinea (London, 1864) 2.

30. Ibid.

were reluctant to sell their labour for rewards--monetary or otherwise--Europeans always placed the blame on what seemed to them to be indifference and aversity to labour.

The Dutch were also dabbling in gold mining activities on the Gold Coast. Between 1825 and 1828 attempts at mining were made in the neighbourhood of Elmina, but these failed. Apparently it was the wrong place to mine gold. In 1828 the Dutch gave up their gold mining not to resume it until 1843.³¹ When mining was begun again, the Dutch sent a German scientist, Housch, to the Gold Coast to pursue mineralogical research. Housch spent some time at Dobokrom, but fell ill and returned to Europe.³² Some mining was done at Dobokrom until all the labourers ran away.³³ Housch returned to the Gold Coast in 1845 as the chief director of gold mines on the Gold Coast with: three engineers, two assistant engineers, sixteen miners, smiths, and carpenters. Two of the engineers and nine of the miners died before the work could begin.³⁴ In order to provide sufficient labour and supplies for the miners, the Dutch

31. A.V.M.K.3999, 28 May 1828 and 6 July 1828 (F.C.).

32. A.R.A.218, 16 and 26 January 1843 (F.C.).

33. Ibid.

34. A.R.A.195, 8 January 1845 (F.C.).

government concluded an agreement with the chiefs of the Ahanta towns of Pritia, Dabrokrom, Pheuo and Hotopo to supply the mines with workers and provisions.³⁵ There were a number of mining pits which had long been abandoned by the local people as they did not yield enough for the labour spent on them. It was at this place the Dutch chose to work; it proved to be an enterprise with little results. A second expedition was sent in 1847, but this was no more fortunate than the previous ones, and the Dutch government decided not to sacrifice any more lives or money on gold washing or mining.³⁶

Dutch efforts on the Gold Coast during this period to make their settlements profitable were unsuccessful, and by the 1830's Holland's interest in Dutch settlements on the Gold Coast had become secondary to those in the East Indies. In order to help build an army needed for their expansion in this area, they decided to put the Gold Coast to use by recruiting troops from there. In 1831 Governor Last was asked to raise a corps of 1,800 people from the Gold Coast to form a colonial military corps for service in Java. The soldiers, who were to serve for a period of

35. Ibid., 23 January 1845.

36. Natglas, What Must the Netherlands Do, 2.

six years, would be repatriated at the end of their term at which time they were to receive a pension payable either in the East Indies or in Elmina.³⁷

Securing troops proved difficult because local people were unwilling to volunteer for Java, and from 1831-1837 only 44 men offered their services. To remedy the situation the Dutch governor decided to send people into the interior to purchase slaves to be used as troops. He was willing to pay an ounce of gold for valuable slaves and half an ounce for others.³⁸ The new scheme of recruitment was put into effect in 1836 when General Verner was appointed to head a mission to seek recruits in Asante.³⁹ Last arrived in Kumasi in 1837, entered into an agreement with the Asantehene to provide 2,000 slaves and W. Hydercooper was appointed the Dutch agent. After the agreement the Asantehene received substantial gifts from the Dutch, but the flow of slaves from Asante to Java proved irregular.⁴⁰

The Dutch recruits who were slaves were brought down to the coast under the escort of soldiers, freed, given

37. A.V.M.K.4002, 4, 9, 17 and 24 December 1831 (F.C.).

38. A.V.M.K.4007, 20 June 1836 (F.C.).

39. Ibid.

40. Dantzig, "Dutch Recruitment in Kumasi," 22.

emancipation papers and then kept until ships were available to transport them to the East Indies.⁴¹ Dutch authorities on the Gold Coast claimed that the difficulty of securing troops was due to the persistence of the slave trade. According to their accounts the people were taking their slaves to the leeward coast, where they received up to four and a half ounces of gold for a man.⁴² On the Gold Coast itself the prices paid for domestic slaves ranging between L6 - L8⁴³ were more than the Dutch were offering for their recruits.

The first phase of Dutch recruitment on the Gold Coast terminated in 1842 because of serious attacks by the British.⁴⁴ The Dutch recruitment of slaves for the East Indies was again resumed in 1855, but did not reach the earlier level. From 1837 to 1842, 1,887 slaves were sent to Java.⁴⁵ Although the British were opposed to the Dutch

⁴¹. Parl. Papers 1842, Report of Select Committee in West Africa 1842, Evidence of F. Swanzy, Q.1543.

⁴². A.V.M.K. 4006, 27 April 1835 and A.R.A. 199, 7 October 1840.

⁴³. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 244.

⁴⁴. A.R.A. 215, 2 February 1842 (F.C.).

⁴⁵. Some of these people later returned to Elmina on Dutch pensions.

activities, their own "voluntary" emigration from Sierra Leone to the West Indies in the 1840's, and the virtual conscription of recaptives into the British West Indian regiment,⁴⁶ were hardly distinguishable from the abuses they attached when committed by other powers.

Despite the report that by 1831 the slave trade had ceased to exist on the coast from Apollonia to Accra it continued in the eastern part of the country, and as late as 1842 it was said that slaves were still being smuggled from time to time, especially from the eastern region to the area beyond the Volta for sale.⁴⁷ Between 1831 and 1842 Curtin estimates that 0.5 per cent or 1,830 of the slaves exported from Africa by ships known to the British ~~foreign~~ Office came from the Gold Coast. In 1844 during political disturbances in Akuapem, some people from Labadi, Teshi and Accra kidnapped five young people from Akropong and sold them. While on their way to Vay on the Slave Coast to be exported, they were fortunately rescued by an attendant at Fort Prinseston at Keta.⁴⁸ Edward Carstensen, the Danish

46. Newbury, British Policy towards West Africa, 199ff.

47. Parl. Papers 1842, Report of Select Committee in West Africa, XII, Appendix.

48. G.J., No. 82, 14 January 1845.

Governor, related in 1845 that there were a number of slave-trade agents and commissioners who went around the country buying slaves for export. He said that slaves from the Gold Coast were taken to places on the Slave Coast like Vay, Adafo, Popo, and Whyda.⁴⁹ Carstensen also mentioned that there were some agents at Accra who acted as correspondents of slave dealers in Vay and Popo.⁵⁰ Brodie Cruickshank and Governor Hill confirmed that this was the practice to transport slaves from the Gold Coast to places where "British influence was less felt."⁵¹

The Asante wars and the diminishing trade at the British forts made Britain reconsider her commitments on the Gold Coast. The wars had been expensive for England, and since it was believed that there was little to be gained from the conflict, Britain speculated about giving up her forts.⁵² By March 1827 Britain had decided to abandon the Gold Coast, and the Governor was instructed to take immediate measures for withdrawing officers of the government stationed

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

51. C.O.96/23; Proclamation of Hill dated 27 November 1851; C.O.96/23, Cruickshank to Hill, 24 November 1851.

52. C.O.267/65; Turner to Bathurst, 24 March 1825; Metcalfe, Documents, 94-95.

at the settlements.⁵³ The British decided to abandon the Gold Coast, but under pressure from local merchants the government offered British resident merchants willing to leave the coast any assistance they needed; but those who wanted to stay were asked to embody themselves and their labourers into an armed militia. These merchants were to be given a sum not more than L2,000 for the first year, L1,500, the second year and L1,000 afterwards to support the militia. Beyond this help they were to remain on the coast at their own risk and could not expect any other assistance from Britain in protecting themselves and the forts against aggression.⁵⁴ Before withdrawing from the Gold Coast the government made an abortive attempt to conclude a peace treaty with Asante; but these efforts for peace were frustrated by the Fante blockade of Elmina as revenge for help the latter had given Asante by the refusal of the people of Christainsborg to relinquish Asante prisoners they had taken during the conflict.⁵⁵

Meanwhile, in the course of 1828 proposals were made for the future administration of the Gold Coast forts which

53. C.O.268/26; Bathurst to Campbell, 21 March 1827; Metcalfe, Documents, 107-8.

54. Ibid.

55. Ward, History of Ghana, 186-7.

provided that the occupied forts, Cape Coast and Accra, were to continue as dependencies of Sierra Leone; the forts were to be regulated by a committee chosen by the government; five of the resident merchants were empowered to form themselves into a council of government, all of whom were to be appointed Justices of the Peace; an annual sum~~p~~ not exceeding L4,000 was placed at the disposal of the Committee of London Merchants on behalf of the resident traders for the maintenance and defence of the forts; and the ports of Cape Coast and Accra were to be open to all vessels without payment of any duty.⁵⁶ The first Committee of London Merchants included George Barnes, Robert Brown and Matthew Forster with a resident merchant on the coast, John Jackson, appointed as the first president of the Council of Merchants, but in 1835, a new committee consisting of J. G. Nicholls, Joseph Reid and William Hutton replaced the first one. George Maclean arrived on the Gold Coast in February 1830 as a full-time, non-merc~~h~~antile President.⁵⁷

56. C.O.268/27: Hay to Barnes, Brown and Forster, 30 October 1828; Metcalfe, Documents, 121-2.

57. For a good short summary of the work of Maclean, see J. D. Fage, "The Administration of George Maclean on the Gold Coast, 1830-1844," T.G.C.T.H.S., I, part 4 (1955), 104-120; and for an excellent biography, see Metcalfe, Maclean of the Gold Coast.

Earlier wars in 1807, 1811, 1814-1816, 1823-1824, and 1826 had amply demonstrated that wars among the states were bad for trade. Since conflicts were devastating for commercial activities, the principal task that faced Maclean as President of the Council was to secure peace between Asante and the coastal states. The prosperity on the Gold Coast for the years following the treaty were to a large measure due to the peace and the administration of Maclean. As Brodie Cruickshank wrote:

The acknowledgment of the independence of the Fantees and other allied tribes, which the English government wrung from the Ashantees, relieved the country from its most oppressive load; and the consequent supervision of its general policy by the government, affected such a salutary improvement in the increased facility and security of communication, that such redress as the peculiar circumstances of the social condition of the people admitted, was open to all.⁵⁸

The Presidency of Maclean marked a key period of transition in trade and economic change. As a contemporary

58. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 5. This section relies heavily upon Brodie Cruickshank's books and letters. From 1835 to 1854 he was an agent of the Merchant House of Forster and Smith. He seems to have become a leading spokesman of the merchant community by the 1840's. When the Poll Tax Ordinance was passed in 1852 he was appointed the first Collector-General. From August 1853 to January 1854 he was the Acting Governor of the Gold Coast. He was assassinated in Lisbon in 1854. See Marcus Allen, The Gold Coast, or a Cruise in West African Waters (London, 1874), 16.

referring to the period of Maclean so rightly expressed it: "From this time we are to date a new era in the history of the Gold Coast."⁵⁹ And indeed it was a new era. The secret of his success lay in his use of an African force. When Maclean assumed office the whole physical force consisted of a local corps of 120 locally enlisted men, many of whom had served in the Royal African Corps that had fought in the Asante war and were very well disciplined. They also had a perfect acquaintance with the language, habits and feelings of the countrymen and were eminently qualified for the services in which Maclean was to engage them.⁶⁰ Andrew Swanzy has aptly summed up the work of George Maclean for peace and commerce on the Gold Coast:

During the life of Mr. Maclean commercial frauds or direct plunder were absolutely unknown...The decisions of the English magistrates were implicitly trusted, because they were founded by English notions of justice and humanity, and punishment both prompt and severe was dealt out to the wrong doer. Traders and travellers in the Protectorate were then as safe as in an English turnpike-road, and peace was effectively maintained.⁶¹

59. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 15.

60. C.O.96/11: Cruickshank to Forster, 6 February 1847; C.O.96/4: Maclean to Stanley, 5 February 1844; Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 15.

61. Andrew Swanzy, "On Trade in West Africa with and without British Protection," J.S.A., Vol. 22 (1874), 479.

Maclean's government had limited authority, and strictly speaking it did not have any jurisdiction on the Gold Coast beyond the towns and villages immediately laying under the guns of the different forts. Because of the disorganized and lawless state of the country, the local government was induced to assume an authority not sanctioned by the British government. To maintain peace and security for commerce, as many of the African force as could be spared from garrison duty at the forts were distributed throughout the whole country on the main roads and in the principal inland towns to act as policemen in order to maintain order, keep the roads open and secure and report serious incidents that might rupture the peace.⁶² In maintaining the peace which helped the prosperity of trade Maclean's own words describing his procedure are worth quoting at length:

Ever since I succeeded in concluding peace with Ashantee, and in reducing to a state of tranquility and order the whole of the extensive country denominated British Territory, I have invariably had a number of soldiers stationed, singly in various parts of the country, who, although entrusted with the exercise of no power, are yet charged with the execution of duties at once delicate and onerous. For example, I have three soldiers stationed at different points on the line of roads leading to the frontiers of Ashantee--a distance from Cape Coast Castle of one hundred miles. The duties of these men are to afford protection to all traders, to see that the traders

62. C.O.96/11: Cruickshank to Forster, 6 February 1847.

themselves conduct themselves properly, and, generally to see that the roads are kept free from obstruction of every kind; while it is also their special duty, as well as the duty of all my other soldiers stationed at Out Posts in the interior, to give me the earliest information of any disputes having arisen, or likely to arise, betwixt any two or more chiefs. By these measures I am enabled at all times, even with my limited means to prevent any disturbances in the country, because I am enabled to bring my whole influence to bear on any particular point, before any overt acts of hostility have been committed by contending parties.⁶³

The mode of trade during this period was described thus:

In those days the ordinary course of business was as follows:- The English merchants on the Gold Coast were supplied with credit with such goods as they required by their London correspondents principally by the well-known firms of Messrs. Forster and Smith and Messrs. W. B. Hatton and Sons, and as the transactions were very considerable and attended with much risk, great care was necessary in selecting the persons to whom advances were made, the consequence was that the resident English merchants, though few in number, were generally men of education and ability; and, acting as magistrates and civil commandants in districts in which they resided, they exercised a great and beneficial influence over the natives. The native traders purchased their goods from these gentlemen, and also from British and Hamburgh trading-ships, generally on credit, as they possessed but little capital, and they paid for the goods so advanced to them in three or four months, according to the state of trade. During my six years residence on the coast, from 1844 to 1850, such debts were fairly met, and a very large business carried on; indeed, our outstanding accounts, due by the natives of Dixcove and that neighborhood, amounted generally from L12,000 to L15,000.⁶⁴

63. C.O.96/4; Maclean to Stanley, 5 February 1844.

64. Andrew Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 479.

Probably one of the most significant developments in trade and economic change was the emergence of a number of African merchants who occupied the same position in commercial affairs as the European traders. According to Andrew Swanzy, during this time a number of Africans were "admitted to the same advantages as the resident English traders, and received their supplies direct from the London firms."⁶⁵ Among the Africans who were to be given the opportunity of receiving goods directly from London firms on credit in the course of the period were George Blankson Sr., Joseph Smith, F. C. Grant, Thomas Hughes, Robert Hutchinson, and R. J. Gharthey⁶⁶--to name but a few.

65. Ibid.

66. G. Blankson Sr. (1809-1898), except for a brief interruption to serve the Methodist church in the 1840's, traded on his own account mostly in Asante. In addition to his trading activities he served the government on missions to Asante under Maclean in 1834 and under Acting Governor Cruickshank in 1853, and was a member of the Gold Coast Legislature from 1862 to 1873. See M. J. Sampson, Gold Coast Men of Affairs (London, 1937), 101-8 and Metcalfe, Documents, 245, n.3. F. C. Grant (1823-1894) became a leading Cape Coast merchant who was reported to be "A native gentleman, who is certainly not the inferior of any European on the Gold Coast in character, ability, or mercantile position." Full of enterprise he became interested in gold mining and was involved in the Gold Coast Native Concession Purchasing Company, the first mining concession syndicate owned entirely by Africans. He served the local government first as a member of the Cape Coast Municipal Council and then as a member of the Gold Coast Legislative Council. See David Kimble, A Political History of the Gold Coast 1850-1928 (Oxford, 1963), passim and Dumett, "The

In fact, the bulk of these Africans who became prominent merchants in the country were people who received goods on credit from London firms and exchanged the goods they received for produce of the country.⁶⁷

While trading was restricted, and the privilege of acting as brokers for the interior people was confined to the chiefs, the mass of people were precluded from acquiring wealth. According to Cruickshank, wealth was not within the reach of many, and riches had been far from abundant in the country. At a time when pawning was very common, only the well-off could redeem their relations.⁶⁸ A contemporary

Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century," 82. Thomas Hughes was probably one of the most enterprising African merchants of the period under discussion in this work. As a pioneer in the modern mining industry, Thomas Hughes imported some heavy machinery to start mining activities in Wassa, but after striking a rich vein in 1861, the chief forbade him to exploit it and destroyed his machinery. He also manufactured perfumes at Cape Coast. See Kimble, Political History, 63 and African Times, 23 March 1868, 111. James Robert Thompson (1810-1886) became a leading Cape Coast merchant. In addition to his commercial activities he was elected a local chief in 1853. See E. J. P. Brown, Gold Coast and Asanti Reader II (London, 1929), 155 and Sampson, Gold Coast Men of Affairs, 109-11. R. J. Chartey (1820-1897) established a business as a merchant at Anomabo after working at coopery with a European firm. He was a pioneer in the Gold Coast timber industry, a promoter of gold mining and later, a moving personality in the Confederation. See Sampson, Gold Coast Men of Affairs, 112-28.

67. A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 479.

68. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 19.

related that: "While this state of matters continued, the general body of the people who felt most the pressure of their separate bondage, had no opportunity of acquiring means to purchase their own redemption, or that of their relatives."⁶⁹ In situations where a pawn who had a bad master could not be redeemed, recourse was often made to a wealthy person who had the reputation of being a good man, to purchase him from the cruel master.⁷⁰

A second phase of development in trade could be said to have begun with the peace with Asante, and this phase marks the inception of the participation in the trade by the masses of the people. "No sooner was it fully apparent that protection was afforded to every one, than a new spirit seemed to pervade the general mass of the people," wrote Cruickshank. "It was like the awakening from a dream which had dissipated the senses, and left no tangible impression upon the mind, and required a process of careful reflection to arrive at a proper comprehension of their position."⁷¹

69. Ibid., II, 20.

70. Ibid., II, 21.

71. Ibid., II, 16.

After the peace treaty in 1831 the Asante realized that the chances of being molested on their way to the coast ^{were} ~~was~~ at an end and the practice of being assigned to a chief on the coast for the sake of protection was no longer necessary. With peace and security established, Asante traders to the coast were relieved of the inconvenience of travelling in large numbers and paying exorbitant fees to the coastal chiefs for brokerage transactions. In place of the chiefs and rulers, the inland traders found out that there were now thousands of people who were eagerly seeking to be employed as brokers willing to offer their services at a moderate fee. Naturally this gave the Asante much more freedom of choice in their trading transactions.⁷²

Little has been written on the methods of trade during this period, but W. F. Hutchinson has provided some significant details. He writes:

The people of the coastal towns were largely dependent on the trade with the interior, and were all interested, in one way or another, in the resort of traders to the towns. Each trader brought with him a train of slaves, varying in number according to amount of the purchases he intended to make, to carry back his goods. In the absence of inns, hostels, or other accommodation for travellers, many householders lived by housing the traders and their suites. Others flourished by providing food for the strangers. The lodging of them became a remunerative business as traders would resort

72. Ibid., II, 32.

to the same house on successive visits, and thus the houseowner acquired a vested interest in his lodgers which was a valuable asset. No charge was made for the lodging, but the trader was expected to allow his host to act as his broker, and to make his purchases at stores to which his host conducted him. In order to attract trade the European merchants paid a brokerage of half an aky per ounce (about 3%) on the amount of the purchases made by the trader, from which the owner of a well-frequented house derived a substantial income. This lodging of traders developed into a regular business, like hotel-keeping in more advanced countries. Enterprising houseowners sent out touts, who met the traders at a day's journey from the port, and solicited and induced those who had not an acquaintance with some householder in the town to go to their employer's house. As each broker virtually controlled the placing of his clients' business the merchants competed with each other in making the brokerage, which was paid in goods, more attractive.⁷³

It was customary for the host-brokers personally to introduce the inland traders to the merchants. Traders of relatively small purchasing power with 5 to 50 ounces of gold to spend were introduced together, but those with 100 ounces of gold to spend were accorded special treatment. Such a trader of large assets as well as some of his slaves were conducted by the broker on an individual basis to be presented to a given storekeeper and his gold-takers. This introduction was followed by polite conversation relating to the journey and health of the trader and his party. Drinks were then served, after which one or two clay pipes with tobacco leaves were usually presented. The broker then

⁷³. Hutchinson, "The Gold Trade of the Gold Coast 1826 to 1890," 149.

stated the amount of gold the trader anticipated spending and the trader specified the items of merchandize required. Then the storekeeper displayed samples of the desired trade items and the discussion would finally end with more drinks after which the traders and their slaves would return to their accommodation in the town.

On the following morning the trader, accompanied by his broker, returned to the store with his principal attendant and porters with ivory or other goods. Each trader carried what was called a "goldbook" in which the trader entered the amount that was due him after appraising the value of his produce.

Following the assessment of the goods came the careful task of weighing and testing the gold. When this was completed the trader and his broker were again treated to drinks before they departed from the store. The trader normally spent a few days in the town visiting and inspecting various stores and, prior to returning home, he and his broker took the "goldbook" to the storekeeper to begin the process of selecting purchases.

Trading methods in relation to one specific merchant, James Bannerman, were recorded by Sir Henry Huntley who observed:

Mr. Bannerman transacted all the trading that came before him. His method of doing this had a singularity

about it; the natives, perhaps twenty or thirty would enter the town, each bringing a little gold dust, often under half an ounce; they sent to inform Mr. Bannerman of their arrival, he returned some answer sufficient to convey an invitation to barter, but expressive of no exact desire for it; a day or two passed, and they sent to say that they would come to look at the goods he had; at the appointed time, the whole body came in procession, some carrying a little bit of rag tied up, and containing the gold; the goods were displayed, and after a time food was given to them, so far they were gainers; they made an offer, Mr. Bannerman all this time was walking backwards and forwards on his verandah above, apparently indifferent to the whole proceeding, and refusing or acquiescing but by a simple monosyllable, he said nothing more; all day the country traders were crouching about the yard, nor left till sunset; this scene was repeated for days, the object of the African being to weary out the patience of the Englishman, an attempt utterly futile as it applied to Mr. Bannerman; at length the respective parties agreed, the gold dust was weighed and tested, a very necessary precaution, the merchandise chosen, the traders fed, and by the evening they were on their journey to their own homes.⁷⁴

During this period, returning prosperity among the indigenous people led to an increase in the internal slave trade. Cruickshank observed that "while the diffusion of wealth and the progress of knowledge are creating a spirit of industry, and exciting a desire for greater freedom among the native Fantees, a fresh tide of slavery is pouring into the country from another direction," and that "several thousands were added to the population of the country under

⁴
74. H. Huntly, Seven Years' Service on the Slave Coast of West Africa, 2 vols. (London, 1850), 81-82.

our protection every year."⁷⁵ These slaves were imported in large numbers annually in the country through Asante from the north with their price varying from L6 to L8. They passed under the general name of "Donko" and provided most of the labour for the country.⁷⁶

The beginning of the possibility of accumulation of wealth amongst a wider group inevitably led to the third phase. It was noted that "the certainty of protection, and the profitable nature of mercantile speculation at the time, allured numbers to try their fortune as trading adventurers," and consequently "small capitalists invested what gold they had in goods, and either carried them into the interior, or sent them in charge of confidential agents to be sold."⁷⁷

The apparent success of those who engaged in the carrying trade to the interior changed the whole trading system. Merchants on the coast began to realize that the goods transported inland for sale were reducing the profits at their stores and factories on the coast. They were, therefore, forced to participate in the trade to the interior and

75. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 246.

76. Ibid., 244.

77. Ibid., 32.

employed agents to whom goods were sent.⁷⁸

The carrying trade had a dramatic effect upon the people of the Gold Coast and even affected the landscape of the country:

Instead of the dull, stagnant, lifeless appearance which the country presented some time before, the monotony of which was only varied occasionally by an act of gross outrage, or the sudden outbreak of an old hereditary feud, all was now cheerful bustle and activity. There was not a nook or corner of the land to which the enterprise of some sanguine trader had not led him. Every village had its festoons of Manchester cottons and China silks, hung up upon the walls of the houses, or round the trees in the market-place, to attract the attention and excite the cupidity of the villagers.⁷⁹

As the trade to the interior increased, most of the important towns on the route to Asante became extensive depots where all kinds of European goods were available for purchase. There were also many trade agents in Kumasi, the capital of Asante.⁸⁰ For example, when the Rev. T. B. Freeman visited Asante in 1839, he found a considerable Fante population just outside Fomena at Kwisa.⁸¹ Freeman reported that: "I was delighted to find in Quissah several Fantees/

78. Ibid., II, 32-33.

79. Ibid., II, 33.

80. Ibid.

81. Metcalfe, Maclean, 132 and, see John Mensah Sarbah, Fanti Customary Laws (London, 1904) and M.M.A. Ms 11 March 1839.

members of our society who had come hither for trading purposes."

Since there was no beast of burden to carry the merchandize into the interior, employment was given to thousands of people who transported the goods inland⁸² and the inland trade was open to everyone, including slaves. Cruickshank tells of a Mossi slave at Cape Coast called Bissoo who made his fortune in the carrying trade. After the peace of 1831 opened the interior for trade, his master granted him freedom to go inland. Bissoo invested the little money he had in goods and obtained additional supplies on credit. He transported the merchandize into Wassa and exchanged it for gold and ivory. The slave became wealthy through his trade and it is related that "all idea of servitude was swallowed up in his riches, which also supplied the means of overcoming the prejudices of the Cape Coast cabboceers, and of elevating him to an equal rank with them."⁸³ The penetration of European goods into the interior and their general availability to the people made them necessities. As was reported:

Since the commencement of the carrying trade, they had become accustomed to many trifling luxuries within the

82. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 33.

83. Ibid., I, 244.

reach of their scanty pay, to which they had formerly been strangers. These had now become absolutely necessary to them, and they were willing to turn their hands to any work, in order to obtain the means of procuring them.⁸⁴

The nature of the trade became one of simple credit based on trust which became very widespread and led to the diffusion of property amongst all classes of people. The widespread credit necessarily meant that a larger proportion of the people would default in the payment of their debt obligations. The result of the inability to pay one's debts resulted in pawning which often implicated innocent relatives. However, as it turned out, Maclean introduced a system of limited liability by which "relations were relieved from all responsibility respecting debts incurred without their especial suretyship." Despite the new system the old custom of pawning relatives continued and the English courts could act only when an application was made to them.⁸⁵ Yet, notwithstanding the influence of an established custom, in preventing the relief, which was put within their reach, being universally or even generally accepted, yet the knowledge that it might be had recourse to, had a very sensible

84. Ibid., II, 40.

85. Ibid., II, 35-37.

effect in curtailing the extent of credit...."⁸⁶ An examination of the prison records of this time also indicates that a large number of the prisoners at Cape Coast, Anomabo and Accra were debtors.⁸⁷

The question of slaves also came to the attention of Maclean's court. When a slave initiated judicial proceedings, an investigation was made into the nature of the master's claim over him. If the master's claim was valid and he could prove that money had been paid for him the slave was obliged to pay the price for his freedom. The amount paid was normally L8 or two ounces of gold which was the price of a slave.⁸⁸ Since most slaves were without the means to redeem themselves, it was often arranged for them to work at the forts on half wages, the other half being retained or paid to their masters in consideration of their redemption from slavery.⁸⁹

The limitation of credit, partly due to the operation of the British courts and the reduction of prices, and the

86. Ibid., II, 39.

87. C.O.96/6, 7: List of Prisoners Extract of Cases Adjudicated upon in Cape Coast Castle and Anamabo.

88. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 228-9.

89. C.O.96/8: Stanley to Maclean, 3 July 1845; Ibid., Letter of Stanley, 20 June 1845.

end of price agreements imposed by a "self-constituted Board of Trade" dealt the carrying trade a death-blow. This led to the emergence of a fourth phase of trade. With the end of the restriction upon trade, stores on the coast were able to make reductions in their prices and to induce inland traders to come to the coast in greater numbers than before to purchase goods, instead of buying them from petty traders or from depots in the interior. Inland traders came to prefer this mode of trading for obvious reasons:

The greater choice of merchandize in the stores of the merchants, the presents which the traders were in the habit of receiving, and which eventually became an established perquisite, their little consideration of the value of time, and their consequent indifference about the length of their journey, combined with more consideration for themselves, and greater fairness of dealing than guided the transactions of adventurers, far removed from any sufficient control, all conspired to place the trade entirely upon a new footing.⁹⁰

An important consequence of the traders becoming their own carriers was to exclude employment from many people who had participated in the trade, and to force them to seek other means of living.

Since the people had become accustomed to certain luxuries, it was necessary for them to find a new means of

90. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 39-40.

procuring them. For most of the coastal people who did not have staple articles of export like gold and ivory, a new branch of trade had to be found. Palm oil was the answer for some of the people, and the manufacture of the product began to give employment to a large portion of the population. Palm oil which had been made in small quantities before the 1830's became an important export.⁹¹

It has been suggested that the production of palm oil would not have risen to the position it assumed if it had not been for a new circulating medium on the coast. Slaves for some time had been used as the staple of commerce and had "held the most conspicuous place as a test of computation, and an article was ordinarily reckoned at the value of one, two, or more slaves." However, it was stated:

But the immense variety of circumstances which depreciated their value or otherwise, made it of such a relative quality, that even the classification into prime, good, bad, and indifferent, conveyed but a doubtful and indefinite idea of their true worth.⁹²

Gold dust was a standard currency in the western region and Asante, but since its supply was limited it was an inadequate medium of circulation. In order to make up for this deficiency, various trade articles which passed from

91. Ibid., II, 40-42. See Chapter II.

92. Ibid., II, 42.

hand to hand at a market or an agreed price were also used. Such a medium of exchange was unsatisfactory because unless it was required for immediate consumption it was of little use to the person receiving them. It was said that:

As long as this state of things continued, and there was no ready and convertible price for labour of easy access, there was little inducement to work; but when labour could be very profitably employed in the manufacture of an article of great consumption, for which there was always a ready market, and which was paid in a commodity capable of great subdivision, and in constant use as the circulating medium of an extensive district of the country, motives for exertion were only limited by the extent of desire.⁹³

The use of cowrie shells provided the needed medium of exchange:

The introduction of the cowrie-shell and its application to this purpose supplied the desideratum necessary for the prosecution of the trade in palm oil, the supply of which is found to fluctuate according to the supply of the cowries. If these have been exhausted in the stores of the merchants, no oil is brought to the market unless in such small quantities as may be required for immediate consumption; and although the manufacture of oil may go on in the meantime, in the expectation of new importations of cowries, yet if these be long delayed, the activity of the labourer slackens and finally ceases; the object of his labour being to obtain what to him is tantamount to ready cash, which he can apply in any manner he thinks fit.⁹⁴

By 1850 150 tons of cowries were annually being imported to the Gold Coast.⁹⁵ It is significant that the eastern region

93. Ibid., II, 43.

94. Ibid., II, 43-44. The "introduction" of cowrie shells used in this quotation is somewhat misleading because cowries had been in use on the Gold Coast long before the 1830's. It is probable that Cruickshank means the increasing use of cowries.

95. Ibid. A ton of cowries was equivalent to \$350.00 around 1850.

became the centre of the production of palm oil, which was devoid of products like gold and kola for either the interior trade or the coastal trade. The oil was manufactured 20 to 40 miles in the interior and brought in earthen pots to the European settlements and there exchanged "for such articles as they require for their trade in the Interior markets."⁹⁶ The problem of transportation must have been a factor in limiting the area of production to places within the easy reach of the coast. The export of palm oil came to depend upon the availability of cowrie shells,⁹⁷ which were used as currency in the eastern region.⁹⁸ The concentration of the palm oil in the eastern district is significant and undeniably the cowrie shells that the people of the eastern region secured for their oil were essential for their trade in the interior.

The area where cowries were in use was limited mainly to the region east of Anomabo; they were forbidden in Asante and in other areas where there was a strong prejudice

96. C.O.267/93: Rowan Report.

97. For a study of cowrie shells, see Marion Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies in West Africa," J.A.H., XI, Parts I and 3 (1970), 17-49 and 331-53.

98. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 43 and C.O.96/18: Fitzpatrick to Grey, 10 March 1850.

against them. West of Anomabo cowries were little used and gold dust, silver, and copper coins passed as currency. In places like Cape Coast the expenditure of the government allowed for the circulation of enough money for the exigencies of the people and induced them to work in order to obtain what had become necessities to them. But where there was no currency there was not sufficient inducement to labour.⁹⁹

The importance of missionary work and education in the process of change taking place on the Gold Coast at this time cannot be over estimated. Missionaries had been on the Gold Coast since the time of the European discovery, but the sporadic attempts made to foster African education had met with little success. The Dutch and the Danes had made half-hearted efforts to operate schools for mulattos, and periodically some of these and other Africans had been sent to Europe to be educated. However, it was not until 1828 and 1835 when the Basel and Wesleyan missionaries began their effective work that education reached a high level of attainment.¹⁰⁰ By 1850 there were 21 schools on

99. Ibid., II, 44.

100. Philip Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (London, 1965), 48-51.

the Gold Coast with a total enrollment of 1,140 students of whom 901 were men and 239, women.¹⁰¹

Education during this period to be sure was imperfect and often consisted of memorization, reading, writing, arithmetic and some acquaintance of scripture.¹⁰² Nonetheless, as was noted, "It enabled young men to keep memoranda, copy papers and accounts, to superintend the discharging of cargo from vessels, oversee out-of-door work, and such simple employments...."¹⁰³ The same observer wrote:

I believe a new era in the trade of the Gold Coast has commenced and that for years it will increase in an extraordinary manner. The increase is the result of the small measure of education which can be given here. Every year now more than 100 boys or young men from schools are turned out of the seminaries of Cape Coast, Anamoboe and Accra. These are compelled to seek out a way of respectable living and as they generally turn their attention in the direction of trade, it has given a most extraordinary impetus to business here and is most essentially adding to the amount of exports from the country.¹⁰⁴

Most people receiving education believed that their qualifications confined them to the service of the government and commerce and precluded them from ordinary labour; to them

101. C.O.442/10, 1850. By 1860 there were 45 schools with an enrollment of 1,986.

102. For more information, see Foster, Education, 52-58.

103. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 60.

104. C.O.96/17: Cruickshank to Forster, 26 May 1849.

manual labour was fit only for slaves. A mulatto trader lamented this:

All the young men leaving schools become traders as they see that all the Europeans are Merchants; I believe not one boy that can read or write has yet become a Canoe-man or a planter of corn; the whole of these instructed young men are following one occupation, that of trading and hawking goods about the country... It is a very great pity that something has not been done to induce some to become Carpenters and Bricklayers.¹⁰⁵

Education on the Gold Coast was not without other baneful effects upon the society:

It fostered ideas of expense above their means, induced them to seek the gratification of their tastes, regardless of the consequences, enabled them to minister their wants by the credulous simplicity of the ignorant, and ended by involving their relations in debt and bondage.¹⁰⁶

In Cruickshank's view, it was no wonder that some Africans who observed the process of education sometimes remarked that "the school was a very good thing for white men, but not for black."¹⁰⁷

The level of trade and economic activities of this period of change can be seen in the scope of the internal and the external trade. The imports into Cape Coast alone in 1831 were estimated at L130,851 3s 11½d and had risen

105. Ibid., C. H. Bartels to M. Forster, 28 September 1849.

106. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 67.

107. Ibid.

to L423,170 by 1840. Cape Coast exports also increased from L90,282 9s 6d in 1831 to L325,008 in 1840. In 1840 the imports of British Accra were judged to be a figure between L65,000 to L70,000 of which from L12,000 to L15,000 came from America. The exports to Europe were from L85,000 to L95,000 and to the United States L15,000 to L20,000.¹⁰⁸ Annomabo imports stood at L50,000 and exports at L60,000.¹⁰⁹ The trade figures for the two major ports Cape Coast and Accra from 1831-1840 can be broken down as follows:¹¹⁰

Cape Coast

	Imports	Exports
1831	L130,851 3s 11½d	L 90,282 9s 6d
1832	L188,067 7s	L181,104
1833	L151,439 12s 4d	L124,147 10s
1834	L181,262 5s 7d	L182,737
1835	L175,985 3s 9d	L171,705 10s 3d
1836	L243,023	L174,832 10s 3d
1837	L264,990	L122,703
1838	L159,405	L124,207 5s 7d
1839	L354,460	L194,576 19s 1d
1840	L423,170	L325,008

108. Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

109. Ibid.

110. Ibid., 43.

Accra¹¹¹

	Imports	Exports
1831	no returns	no returns
1832	L23,716 5s**	L62,474**
1833	L61,607 10s	L73,613 5s
1834	L18,359 16s 9d**	L87,299 10s**
1835	L20,638**	L12,435**
1836	L24,986**	L52,311**
1837	L28,957 6s 5½d**	L5,065 12s 10½d*
1838	no returns	L66,450 10s*
1839	no returns	no returns
1840	L65,000 to L70,000	L85,000 to L95,000

*For a three month period.

**For a six month period.

Furthermore, Manchester goods shipped to the Gold Coast were bartered to American vessels for rum and tobacco which ^{they} used ~~them~~ to purchase palm oil on the Windward coast and coffee at the island of St. Thomas and Principe.

The trade figures for the 1830's reveal that imports to Cape Coast far exceeded exports, and those to Accra were much less than exports. This situation naturally arouses suspicion; obviously some of the goods being imported to the Gold Coast were finding their way to other areas. This was partly due to the fact that goods imported to the Gold Coast also found their way often to slave dealers who plied their trade in the area eastwards of the Volta River. Gold Coast merchants admitted to this when they said that before the

proclamation of December 1839 prohibiting trade with persons connected with the slave trade, they had sold goods to Spanish, Brazilian and Portuguese vessels and other persons suspected of being implicated in that traffic. Even though trade with persons connected with the slave trade was forbidden, it was not always easy to distinguish between those who were dealing in slaves and those who were not.¹¹² As a merchant on the coast put it:

Some of the large English houses give orders to their captains and supercargoes not to traffic with men reputed to be slave dealers; but, if a purchaser comes along with money in his hand, and offers liberal prices, it requires a tenderer conscience and sterner integrity than are usually met with, on the coast of Africa, to resist the temptation. The merchant at home, possibly, is supposed to know nothing of all this. It is quite an interesting moral question, however, how far either old or New England can be pronounced free from the guilt and odium of the slave-trade, while, with so little indirectness, they both share its profits and contribute essential aid to its prosecution.¹¹³

Both the respectable Gold Coast firms of F. and A. Swanzy and Forster and Smith were known to have traded with slave dealers on the Slave Coast.¹¹⁴ There is no evidence that there was any success or attempt to keep British goods or

112. Ibid., Evidence of J.G. Nicholls, Q.262 and F. Swanzy, Q.577 and A.755.

113. H. Bridge, Journal of an African Cruiser (London, 1845), 51.

114. C. W. Newbury, The Western Slave Coast and Its Rulers (Oxford, 1961), 38.

prevent slavers from using the British goods for carrying on the trade.¹¹⁵ The preponderance of dollars and doubloons on the Gold Coast was one indication of commerce being carried on with persons involved in the slave trade. According to evidence at the Select Committee of West Africa, vessels from Havana sometimes brought nothing but dollars and doubloons to purchase goods for the slave trade.¹¹⁶ Isolated instances of dollar exports from Cape Coast amounted to \$3,237 in 1833, \$2,230*¹¹⁷ for 1834, \$9,320 for 1835, \$13,712* for 1836, \$187,304 for 1840, \$42,000* for 1841 and \$166,700 for 1843. The exports from Accra for six month periods were \$3,600 in 1834, \$4,300 in 1835, \$4,912 in 1836 and \$2,200 in 1838.

The demand to purchase goods on the coast for the prosecution of the slave trade evolved because of changes in the trade necessitated by the activities of British cruisers trying to stop the illegal traffic. Formerly, slave ships could sail down the coast picking up slaves at the various settlements as they went along until their cargo was complete. With the activities of the cruisers, slavers

115. Parl. Papers, 1842, Evidence of J.G.Nicholls, loc. cit.; Evidence of H. Broadhead, Q.2503 and Q.2498.

116. Ibid., Evidence of J.G.Nicholls, Q265 and H. Dring, Q.2092.

117. The asterisk indicates a six month period.

were forced to load to capacity at one point and to attempt to leave the coast in darkness. This state of affairs led to the establishment of what were called slave factories at scattered points along the coast, mostly at points east of the Volta. Briefly, slave factories were places where there was a resident slave trader who secured slaves from the African interior for the external slave trade.¹¹⁸

All the slave factories maintained baracoons where the slaves were kept until they were exported. The baracoons were sheds thatched with palm leaves, with walls extending between 4 and 6 feet high. Between the roof and the wall there was an opening about 4 feet for the circulation of air and at intervals of 2 feet ran a large neck-link in which each slave was padlocked with the floors often planked to protect the slaves against skin disease.¹¹⁹

With the exception of occasional cargoes of roll-tobacco and rum, dollars and doubloons were often sent for the purchase of slaves or goods for the slave market. It was mainly the resident slave trader who needed trade items to carry out his trade. The slave factor obtained goods

118. Lieutenant Forbes, R.N., African Blockade (London, 1849), 83; Parl. Papers, 1842, Evidence of F. Swanzy, A.735.

119. Forbes, African Blockade, 83.

and used them in bartering for slaves. And when the slave ships called, in most cases, they paid for their slaves with dollars and doubloons. Other slave dealers paid slave factors half in goods and half in money. The slave factor in turn used the money received to buy more goods to carry on the illegal traffic.¹²⁰ Sometimes the slave dealer secured the goods necessary for the slave trade indirectly through the indigenous people who would buy goods and then sell them to a slave trader for dollars.¹²¹ Evidence at the hearing of the Select Committee of 1842 indicated that some London and Liverpool commercial houses shipped goods to the West Coast for Africa via Brazil and Cuba for the express purpose of being used for the pursuit of the slave trade.¹²² As the slave trader T. Canot commented:

England, today with all her philanthropy, sends, under the cross of St. George, to convenient magazines of lawful commerce on the coast, her Birmingham muskets, Manchester cottons, and Liverpool lead, all of which are righteously swapped at Sierra Leone, Accra, and on the Gold Coast for Spanish or Brazilian bills on London. Yet, what British merchant does not know the traffic on which those bills are founded, and for whose support his wares are purchased? France, with her

120. Parl. Papers, 1842, Evidence of F. Swanzy, Qs.622-624, 735-751 and Appendix, 77.

121. Ibid., Q.265, J. G. Nichols and Q.237.

122. Ibid., Evidence of W. M. Hutton, Qs3872-3881.

bonnet rouge and fraternity, despatches her Rouen cottons, Marseilles brandies, flimsy taffetas, and indescribable variety of tinsel gewgaws. Philosophic Germany demands a slice for her looking-glass and beads; while multitudes of our own worthy traders who would hang a slaver as a pirate when caught, do not hesitate to supply him directly with tobacco, powder, cotton, Yankee rum, and New England notions, in order to bait the trap in which he may be caught. It is the temptation of these things, I repeat, that feeds the slave-making wars of Africa, and forms the human basis of those admirable bills of exchange.¹²³

A significant change in the imports into the Gold Coast during this period was the gradual replacement of Indian cottons by British manufactures. W. F. Hutchinson has observed of the West African trade that: "Many of the favourite lines of goods were known by Indian names because they had originally been made in Indian, but after 1840 they were mostly made in England where the cost of production was lower."¹²⁴

The decline of Indian cotton imports and their replacement by English ones had actually started about 1830 as the import figures indicate. (See Imports in Appendix.)

From approximately the 1820's until about 1850, the values of European exports to West Africa fell and at the

123. Canot, Twenty Years, 105.

124. W. F. Hutchinson, "The Gold Trade of the Gold Coast 1826 to 1890," E.D.M., XIII, no. 4 (March, 1925), 8.

same time quantities of these exports increased. (See Appendix) Dr. Newbury has given examples of the decline in prices:¹²⁵

Calicoes	1817	1850
cost per year	1s 2d	3½d
Powder	1817	1825
per pound	8½d	5d
Iron and Steel	1830	1850
per ton	L8 0 0	L7 12s 0d

When the values of goods imported to the Gold Coast from 1827 to 1841 are compared with those of Sierra Leone and the area from the Volta to the Cape of Good Hope, those from the Gold Coast show a more steady growth while the two other areas fluctuate erratically. (See graph in Appendix.) The increase in African exports ~~into~~ to Europe during this period under consideration was no doubt helped by the rise in prices of African produce and the removal of heavy duties that had often impeded the trade. Prices seem to have become stabilized by 1850 and after that date the prices of items like palm oil even began to decline.

In terms of exports from the Gold Coast during this period, most of the exports from the Gold Coast made from Cape Coast and Accra were recorded, but often returns from

125. C. W. Newbury, "Prices and Profitability in Early Nineteenth Century West African Trade," in Meillassoux, Development of African Trade.

other settlements were not included. Exports also came from a wider range, and in many instances the export returns in the figures were simply of those ships that took their final departure from Cape Coast and Accra. Thus, the account of exports did not include the cargoes of vessels which might have taken their final departure from other parts of the coast.¹²⁶

Exports from the Gold Coast in the 1830's (See table of exports p. 256) consisted of gold, ivory, palm oil, guinea grains, corn, pepper, coffee, barwood, camwood, gum copal, red or guinea wood, teakwood, rice, bees' wax, hides and ginger. Of these items gold was the most important. For the five years leading up to June 1834 it was estimated that gold exports from Cape Coast averaged about 18,226 ounces a year and those from all the settlements about 25,000 ounces.¹²⁷ Recorded instances of gold exports were,¹²⁸

126. Parl. Papers, 1842, Evidence of F. Swanzy, Qs.871-872 and Evidence of W. M. Hutton, Qs.3949-3952.

127. Parl. Papers, 1842, Evidence of F. Swanzy, Qs.871-872 and Evidence of W. M. Hutton, Qs.3949-3952.

128. C.O.267/117,131,136,144; The Methodist Missionary Society listed the gold imports from the Gold Coast to Britain from 1832-34 as follows:

	lbs.	oz.	value		
1832	1,866	4	L87,066	15s	7d
1833	1,712	8	L79,898	4s	9d
1834	1,691	4	L78,903	8s	4d

M.M.S. Folder, 1835-37.

Cape Coast				Accra			
1831	11,250	oz.+	L 45,000	1834	3,237	oz.+	L12,948
1832	12,580	oz.+	L 50,320	1835	1,515	oz.+	L 6,060
1833	24,064	oz.	L 96,256	1836	9,083	oz.+	L36,332
1834	11,889	oz.+	L 40,504	1837	1,039	oz.+	L 4,156
1835	26,985	oz.	L126,000	1838	10,154	oz.+	L40,616
1836	15,883	oz.	L 99,864				

+Period of six months.

Ivory exports up to 1841 fluctuated and ranged between 595 cwts. and 1,065 cwts. The bulk of ivory came from the area east of the Volta, but that from the Gold Coast was not unimportant and accounted on an average for a quarter to a third of the total British ivory imports from West Africa. Palm oil was another staple whose exports steadily increased during the period after 1831. Palm oil from the Gold Coast in 1831 was 16,750 cwts. and in 1840 it was 46,778 cwts. Compared to the West African totals of 163,468 cwts. in 1831 and 315,458 cwts. in 1840, the amount from the Gold Coast was extremely small. Included in the exports from the Gold Coast were large amounts of dollars. (See p. 248)

The quantities of barwood, camwood, ebony, teak, ginger, gum, and hides from the Gold Coast varied and greatly fluctuated. Probably the most striking thing about Gold Coast exports was the noticeable role agricultural produce was beginning to play. What was perplexing about these seemingly respectable exports from the Gold Coast was their irregularity, which no doubt was related to external demand and

local conditions. Guinea grains formed a significant export, and the bulk of this product from West Africa came from the Gold Coast, that from 1831-1841 ranged from 6,417 lbs. to 84,403 lbs. with the total volume from West Africa between 7,911 lbs. and 124,539 lbs. Coffee exports were also noticeable, amounting to 12,265 lbs. in 1831, reaching a respectable total of 130,949 lbs. in 1837, but dying out altogether in 1841. Irregular, but respectable exports of corn were made. 1,500 bushels of corn were exported from Accra for a six month period in 1833 and 13,650 bushels in 1835 and 7,000 in 1837. Cape Coast also shipped 35,000 bushels of corn in 1835. That some exports for certain years were not recorded; that there might also have been some overlapping with some areas in West Africa in recording the exports from the Gold Coast; European market factors and possible increases in local consumption could partially explain the fluctuations. The amount of agricultural produce leaving the Gold Coast in a way indicated that there was a trend, albeit slow and gradual, towards production for export.

The mode of the external trading at this time still consisted of the floating trade, the means by which merchant vessels sailed along the coast bartering European goods directly with the indigenous people. In this method the

Return of Exports 1827-1841¹²⁹

	Gum				Red or		Teeth	Teak Bees		Hides
	Guinea	Animi	Palm	Guinea	Pepper	Rice		Wood	Wax	
Barwood	Camwood	Coffee	Ebony	Guinea	lbs.	tons	Elephant	Loads	Untanned	
tons	lb.	tons	lb.	Guinea	lbs.	tons	cwt.	cwt.	cwt.	
1827	13	15,581	41	12,306	36	4962	85	312	19	
1828		14,017	3	1,603	2	7351	4	280	6	
1829				5,302	5	7002	1,000	640		
1830	17		29	15,283	2	13575	29,071	595	200	
1831	313	12,265	107	6,415	17	16750	3,914	1,069	25	40
1832	5	33	1	39,896	11	16544	568	409	18	
1833	16	78		84,403	105	25599	64	719	19	
1834	160	215	16	31,408	62	21485	174	787	44	
1835	50	136	2	31,592	163	19008	2,432	714	3	55
1836	214	28	8	32,574	360	22042	8,231	732	4	172
1837	82	220	58	6,241	2	21986	5	451	3	16
1838	335	84		64,696	70	9	35673	615	34	12
1839	208	75	3	16,635	7	40332	5	609		16
1840	276	70	58	13,351	34	46778	6	938	1	77
1841	170	175	10	6,482	81	42745		851		72

merchants never considered a voyage good unless they realized at least 60 per cent profit on their original invoice.¹³⁰ The other mode of trade was that carried out by resident traders at the forts who maintained stores on the coast.¹³¹ There were even indigenous people who were importing goods from England to the amount of L20,000 to L30,000 annually on their own credit.¹³² Most resident merchants received goods on credit principally from about half a dozen merchant houses: Forster and Smith, F. and A. Swanzy, Hutton and Company, Sewell Ross and Company, Banner Brothers and Company, and R. and W. King of Bristol.¹³³ A great number of merchants supplied by merchant houses on credit often became bankrupt.¹³⁴ Many of these same firms which maintained stores on the coast also operated in the floating trade.¹³⁵ At the time of merchant rule there was often a conflict between resident British merchants at the

130. Parl. Papers, 1842, XI, Evidence of J. G. Nicholls, Q.162.

131. Ibid., Evidence of G.C.Redman, Qs.3320,3340,3345.

132. C.O.96/18: Fitzpatrick to Earl Grey, 10 March 1850.

133. C.O.96/39: Letter to Labouchere, 29 February 1856.

134. Parl. Papers, 1842, XI, Evidence of J.G.Nicholls, Q.176. See Chapter V for a discussion on bankruptcies.

135. C.O.96/18: Fitzpatrick to Earl Grey, 10 March 1850.

outforts and Africans who dealt with vessels engaging in the floating trade. The merchants who often acted as governors of those forts resented the competition, tending to foster a monopoly of trade, and were oppressive towards the indigenous traders.¹³⁶

No trade was carried out at the forts, and the resident merchants often had their stores and factories in the towns where the indigenous people came to buy what they needed.¹³⁷ While merchants on the coast kept their accounts in shillings and pence, those between them and the indigenous people were kept in ounces, ackies and takus.¹³⁸

By 1840 reports were reaching the Colonial Office that the British settlements on the Gold Coast were in the habit of trading with slave vessels. Slavers, it was alleged, called at the forts and purchased goods needed for the conduct of their slave trading activities. These reports reached England at a time when the anti-slave trade fervour was at a fever pitch. The specific case that brought about

136. C.O.96/2: Maclean to Stanley, 13 September 1843; C.O.96/3: Lucas, Gwyer and Lucas, Merchants of Bristol to Stanley, 6 March 1843; C.O.96/3: Simon Samwel to Stanley, 20 November 1843.

137. C.O.267/136: Letter of Maclean, 14 October 1836.

138. C.O.96/11: Winnett's Report to accompany the Blue Books for 1846.

the storm of the relationship between English traders and slave traders was that of the Portuguese vessel Duos Amigos captured for contravening the abolition act in November 1838 and condemned by the Court of Mixed Commission court at Sierra Leone. It was found that this ship had traded at Cape Coast before being captured and, as it was being equipped for the illegal trade while purchasing goods at the forts, should have been seized by the authorities. Maclean did not deny that slave vessels did business at the British forts but felt that he did not have the obligation or power to stop them. Of course, this did not mollify the Colonial Office which sent him a direct warning.¹³⁹ It was decided that the only way to prevent the recurrence of the evil of trading with slaves was for the Crown to resume control of the fort. Meanwhile an agreement was reached to send out a special commissioner to investigate and to make recommendations for the future administration of the settlements.

The choice of a commissioner fell upon Doctor Richard Madden, who had been a judge of the Court of Mixed Commission in Cuba. The Doctor, who was ill for most of the period he was on the Gold Coast, wrote a report on the settlements

139. Metcalfe, Maclean, 245-7.

and gravely impeached individuals engaged in the trade on the Gold Coast. He said that he found British subjects on the Gold Coast buying, selling and holding slaves and that there was cooperation between British commerce and slave trade interests at the factories of notorious slave dealers on the west coast.¹⁴⁰ Some of Madden's important recommendations were that: the Home Government should take the forts out of the hands of the merchant committee; the Governor and officers of the settlements should not be allowed to carry on trade; and measures should be taken to prosecute persons buying, selling or holding slaves on the Gold Coast and those in London.¹⁴¹

The bias of the Madden Report led to the selection of a Parliamentary Committee to look into the affairs of West Africa before his recommendations could be acted upon. The Select Committee of 1842 suggested that: the Government of the Gold Coast settlements should be resumed by the Crown; the forts abandoned in 1828 should be reoccupied; in order that better judicial authority be established, an assessor to the chiefs of the neighbouring territory should be appointed and the military force should be increased; and

140. Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix No. 3.

141. C.O.267/170: Madden's Report.

more effectual steps taken to reduce slavery and the slave trade. The committee also exonerated Maclean of the charges brought against him by Madden and praised him for his work in the settlement.¹⁴²

Although the Colonial Office did not accept these recommendations of the Select Committee, it agreed to assume the government of the forts and to appoint a Judicial Assessor.¹⁴³ While President of the Council at Cape Coast Castle, Maclean's commercial connections with London Houses had been suspect. He was therefore not appointed Governor when the Crown resumed control of the settlement in 1843. That office went to Captain H. W. Hill, whereas Maclean was appointed Judicial Assessor. Until Hill arrived in February 1844, Maclean continued to hold the top office. Exclusive of the charges for the military force that had been employed on the Gold Coast a grant of £4,000 was voted for the settlements of the forts.¹⁴⁴ Meanwhile in response to the recommendations of the Select Committee of 1842, the coastal chiefs were asked to state their acknowledgement of British

142. Parl. Papers, 1842, XI, 4-7.

143. C.O.96/2: Hope to Stephen, 3 December 1842; Metcalfe, Documents, 187-8.

144. C.O.96/2: Stanley to Hill, 16 December 1843; Metcalfe, Documents, 192-4.

jurisdiction, an acceptance which came to be known in Gold Coast history as the Bond of 1844.¹⁴⁵

The merchant rule of the Gold Coast which had begun in 1828 thus came to an end. However, on the coast problems emerged that were to touch upon economic matters. The difficulties that arose involved the use of West Indian troops on the Gold Coast, the conflict with advocates of merchant rule, and the question of slavery, which formed a vital part of the economic structure of the country. Upon the resumption of Crown rule, the local corps of natives who had been used by Maclean to maintain peace, security and to open routes were replaced by West Indian troops. Because of their ignorance of the language and customs of the people, the new troops were incapable of fulfilling the police role of the old garrison.¹⁴⁶

Indeed, there were frequent quarrels between the West Indian soldiers and the local people at places like Accra, Winneba and Kormantin. This reaction was understandable because:

While the forts were garrisoned by the local corps Natives of the Country, the Chiefs and people had the

145. C.O.96/4: Declaration of the Fante Chiefs dated 6 March 1844; Metcalfe, Documents, 196.

146. C.O.96/4: Maclean to Stanley, 5 February 1844.

most entire faith in the intentions of the government, and considered the local authorities as aiding and assisting them in the good government of their country; but when they saw a force introduced who had no interests or feelings in common with them, ignorant of their customs and their language and composed of a dispised race they regarded as in the light of invaders bent upon their total destruction.¹⁴⁷

In 1844 Hill had suggested the creation of a Council of Merchants, subject to the approval of the home government, empowered to make their own laws. Hill believed that "a government conducted by a Committee of Merchants, would unite the co-operation of the resident traders and give them some interest in the advancement of the Government views." But the home government had refused to concede to this.¹⁴⁸ The problem of the control of the government on the coast was to bedevil relationships between the Gold Coast mercantile community and the local government. The merchants insisted on being a part of the local government, claiming that the secret of Maclean's success had been the Council of Merchants innovated in 1828. They argued that the Governor was generally unacquainted with matters relating to customs, laws and trade and that the least mismanagement on his part would bring on a war. In the view of the merchants:

147. C.O.96/12: Cruickshank to Forster, 6 February 1847.

148. C.O.96/4: Hill to Stanley, 5 August 1844.

Much of the prosperity, which the settlement enjoyed under the former system of Government may very justly be attributed to the assistance which the President received from his council. It was entirely composed of merchants whose pursuits brought them into habitual intercourse with the Natives, and who on that account, had the best opportunities of studying their character and providing for their efficient Government.¹⁴⁹

They suggested that a council of government composed of six members be established. This council was to consist of the Governor, Judicial Assessor, and four merchants residing within the settlement. It was suggested that a unanimous negative on the part of the council to any of the Governor's measures would have the effect of suspending such measures until the sanction of the home government had been attained for them.¹⁵⁰ Needless to say the Colonial Office did not accede to these proposals.

During Madden's mission in 1841 the vital questions of slavery and pawning came up. At that time Sir John Jeremie, the Governor-in-Chief, issued a proclamation that by the Slave Trade Abolition Act and the Slave Emancipation Act it was unlawful for any person to hold slaves in any British territory.¹⁵¹ When Madden had tried to enforce the proclamation, slaves who were told they were free asked him to provide

149. C.O.96/12: Forster to Grey, 22 March 1847; Metcalfe, Documents, 203; C.O.96/19: Letter to Winniett, 18 December 1850.

150. C.O.96/12: Letter of Cruickshank, J. Bannerman and J. Coulston, 12 February 1847.

151. Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix, 48.

for their subsistence saying, "unless the Queen intended to give them something to eat, they would prefer their master who supplied their wants."¹⁵² Mulatto families, joined by merchants, protested against the proclamation. The merchants argued that:

The country is at present in a state of profound tranquility, and beginning in some measure to feel the benefits of civilisation, by means of the influence of the local government, the Christian efforts of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and the extension of legitimate commerce; and that the rash and premature introduction of such an extensive revolution would inevitably destroy the British influence, ruin commerce, and plunge the country in the same state of anarchy and confusion from which it is only now gradually recovering.¹⁵³

There was no problem enforcing the proclamation upon the European population. When the question ^{arose} of why the proclamation had been limited only to Europeans, Maclean told the Colonial Office:

I do not find my physical means backed by my moral power, insufficient. But I should say the very foundation of that power, were I to attempt the execution of a measure which would bear, upon the face of it, the appearance, at least, of the grossest tyranny and injustice--the depriving people, namely, without compensation, of property which they have inherited from their ancestors or acquired by their own industry.¹⁵⁴

152. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 236.

153. Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix, 49.

154. C.O.96/2: Maclean to Stanley, 13 September 1843.

The question of pawn-slaves also came up soon after Governor Hill's arrival when he discovered that the Methodist missionaries employed pawns as labourers. The missionaries had to resort to slave and pawn labour with slaves normally hired as individuals and their wages paid to them. In the case of the pawns only a portion of their wage was paid to them, the remaining going to meet the debt for which they were held. Hill interpreted this as buying the pawn and tried to bring proceedings against the missionaries. When the case reached the General Secretary of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, he agreed that the missionaries had acted wrongly and issued a warning to them.¹⁵⁵

Governor Hill's intervention did not solve the question of slavery and domestic slavery. The problem was to come up again and again in the governing of the Gold Coast. Was domestic slavery recognized? Should runaway slaves be handed back to their masters? Were educated Africans and indigenous merchants to be allowed to hold slaves and pawns? Fluctuating British policy did not provide any answers for these difficulties until it abolished domestic slavery altogether in 1875.

While the British Crown was resuming control of the English settlements, changes were taking place in the Danish

155. Metcalfe, Maclean, 311-13.

sphere that would bring an end to the control of their West African establishments in 1850. The forts were sold when further efforts failed in the 1830's to make the settlements profitable.

The question of selling the Danish forts came to the fore again in the 1840's. This time Denmark was very anxious to rid herself of the settlement. In 1840, in order to reduce his government's budget, King Christian VIII resolved to sell both his East Indian territories and the Gold Coast forts. Besides the forestalling of the establishment of a third power in the Danish territories and humanitarian zeal, British merchants became interested in the territory because of the palm oil trade in the area. James Bannerman wrote to emphasize the commercial importance of the Danish territory:

...within this tract is grown all the palm oil, ground nuts and Indian corn purchased at this place, moreover every article of live stock such as oxen, sheep, turkeys, ducks and fowls is reared within these territories, from whence we here, as well as the residents of Elmina, Cape Coast and Annamaboe derive our supplies.¹⁵⁶

According to Bannerman if another power obtained the settlement, they would "without question endeavor to monopolize the trade of Akim, Aquapim, Crobo, etc. by prohibiting those

¹⁵⁶. C.O.96/2: Letter of J. Bannerman dated 7 March 1843.

people from trading at the English settlements."¹⁵⁷ Bannerman was not alone in his belief as others shared his view; even the Governor wrote to confirm this point:

The plains of the River Volta which extend for many miles (say 50 miles) along the Danish Territories, are very rich, and abound in Palm Trees and fine tracts of land well adapted to the cultivation of corn, so much so, that nearly all the Palm oil and corn shipped from this part of the coast is supplied from the fertile country under the Danish flag...The only river which is ever likely to become of any commercial importance on this line of coast is the Volta, now in the possession of the Danes; and this river, by British enterprise, might soon become an easy medium of communication with an extensive part of the interior.¹⁵⁸

With commercial prospects and mercantile urging, Great Britain purchased the Danish forts and took them over in 1850.

The import and export trade of the Gold Coast seem to have fallen somewhat after the Crown assumed control over the forts and, except for an export return of a six month's period in 1842 from Cape Coast amounting to L190,086 (which included 27,280 ounces of gold dust, 166,700 dollars, 716 tons of palm oil and 334 tons of ivory), there is a gap in the returns. Before Crown rule in 1840 when more complete trade data are available the total imports to Cape Coast had been estimated at L423,170, at between L65,500 to L70,000 to Accra. The exports from Cape Coast were valued at

157. Ibid.

158. C.O.96/2: Winniett to Grey, 31 December 1847;
C.O.96/2: Letter of Hutton and Nicholls dated 23 March 1843.

between L325,008 and L95,000. But the figures for all of the Gold Coast imports in 1846 (the first year trade figures are available) amounted to L55,305 and the exports, L120,000. The apparent drop is evident from the comparative table below:

	Imports	Exports
	L	L
1836	243,023	174,703
1837	264,990	122,703
1838	159,409	124,207
1839	254,460	194,576
1840	423,170	325,008 159

	Imports	Exports
	L	L
1846	55,305	120,000
1847	79,400	148,030
1848	82,950	167,174*
1849	110,600	167,174*
1850	88,656	200,707 160

*This figure given in the Blue Books probably represents a mistake in one of the two years quoted.

It appears from the above figures that the most perceptible drop was in the table of imports. Although the exports dropped, they were not radically different from what they had been earlier. Taking into account the former practice of goods imported into the Gold Coast being re-exported or being sold to slave dealers for the prosecution of the slave trade and the overlapping or the inclusion of exports from

159. Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

160. C.O.100/2,3,4,5,6. Blue Books 1846-1850.

other areas, at least two possible explanations emerge. First and foremost, as is evidenced by the low import figures from 1846 to 1850, the items imported seem to be just sufficient for the trade of the Gold Coast in view of its exports, and ^{suggest that} the former practice of goods in the country finding their way to slave dealers had ceased or diminished. Secondly, judging from the Gold Coast figures, in light of the above considerations, exports were relatively steady and held up well during this period.

The external trade could be broken up to show the major imports and exports as follows:¹⁶¹

Imports

	Manchester goods & man- ufacturers L	Spirits and wines L	Hard- ware L	Gun- powder L	Tobacco L	Beads L	Total L
1846	19,650	6,740	8,790	1,780	5,345	8,660	55,305
1847	31,000	8,500	12,000	4,000	4,500	11,000	79,400
1848	34,750	10,300	13,050	4,000	4,650	9,000	82,950
1849	48,440	15,500	22,180	7,710	1,280	3,050	110,600
1850	41,763	7,142	4,733	8,256	4,599	5,060	88,656

Exports

	Gold dust L	Palm Oil L	Ivory L	Miscella- neous L	Total L
1846	90,000	12,500	16,800	1,500	120,800
1847	108,000	16,450	21,300	2,280	168,030
1848 & 1849*	127,980	20,506	16,380	2,308	167,174
1850	146,412	45,185	8,620	500	200,707

*The repetition of the figures for 1848 and 1849 must represent a mistake in the original records.

By 1850 it was evident that the Gold Coast was showing patent trade and economic progress which were the result of changes in the society. "There is a vitality of change diffusing its innumerable currents through every class of society, and giving expansion to an entirely new class of ideas, affecting the moral, religious, social, and domestic condition of the people," wrote Cruickshank. He further observed that "a taste for many of the European necessities and luxuries of life, and a partial assimilation in the construction of their houses, in dress, in manners, and in religion, are daily more observable...."¹⁶²

As a long time resident on the coast he summed up the changes that had taken place thus:

The Gold Coast is progressing satisfactorily, and though apparently slowly, it is not so in reality, and if I could look back my fifteen years in it and remark all the changes, I would be astonished, as I am from a partial recollection of it, at what has been done. This has been the result of non interference, the absence of law making and the presence of self interest to take advantage of the available chances of improvement as they presented themselves.¹⁶³

In 1850 when the administration of the Gold Coast was separated from that of Sierra Leone, trade and economic development was forging ahead. That these changes could

162. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 231.

163. C.O.96/17: Cruickshank to Forster, 29 September 1849.

take place was in great measure due to the transformation of the traditional society with institutional and ideological adjustments to the emerging commercial order.

CHAPTER IV

THE AGE OF AFRICAN MERCHANTS, 1850-1863

The decision of Earl Grey, the British Secretary of State, to separate the administration of the Gold Coast from that of Sierra Leone in 1850 meant that the British were assuming a greater degree of potential presence in the country, thus entailing the need for a larger government staff and more expense.¹ Yet, Great Britain was plagued by lack of money and shortage of authority to meet increased responsibilities of government on the coast. The liabilities of the British local government can be clearly seen by looking at a breakdown of its revenue and expenditure.²

1. Kimble, Political History, 168. A. Swanzy wrote that "In consequence of the greatly increased expense attending this change, it became necessary to provide an increased revenue." "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 479.

2. C.O.442/27 for revenue and expenditure of 1850-1854; C.O.442/28 for revenue and expenditure of 1855 and C.O.442/33 for revenue and expenditure of 1860.

Branches of Revenue	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1860
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Arrears of revenue	--	--	--	339	1,078	--	--
Parliamentary grant	4,000	4,000	4,000	4,000	3,996	4,070	2,943
Customs dues	443	424	206	255	355	614	2,324
Lighthouse dues	38	41	31	89	123	252	279
Permits	24	27	20	18	148	33	61
Fines	370	453	541	310	741	728	707
Officers' Salaries not drawn	--	603	346	369	129	47	--
Miscellaneous receipts	9	2	3	304	16	96	71
Poll tax	--	--	--	7,567	3,625	3,990	--
Total	4,884	5,550	5,147	13,249	10,211	9,830	7,948+

+This total includes L174 for conveyance of mails, L33 for postage and L1,356 for the category termed "special."

Branches of expenditure	1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1860
	L	L	L	L	L	L	L
Arrears of expenditure	--	--	--	--	1,405	--	
Salaries	3,023	4,262	3,225	3,525	4,676		
Militia and police	641	1,032	492	254	246		
Interpreters, etc.	74	112	139	96	52		
Canoe hire	32	40	29	73	99	123	693
Lighthouse	131	115	--	--	23		
Hospital	36	36	--	--	50		
Travelling expenses	390	154	388	198	--		
Pensions	40	42	36	36	74	109	
Prisons	56	103	109	111	--		
Labourers	85	45	85	185	--		
Missions to Ashantee and Gold Coast	--	--	--	--	514	--	
Military expenditure	--	--	--	--	600	53	
Agent-General for supplies	432	189	592	459	541	1,238	
Miscellaneous	291	507	1,306	1,241	1,096	536	251
Total	5,231	6,637	6,401	6,178	9,376	8,501*	9,558* *

*This total includes civil establishments L5,851, stipends to native chiefs L377 and works, L214.

**This total includes civil establishments L4,339, administration of justice, pensions, gratuities, etc. L49, roads, buildings, and works L275, rent L176, subsistence of prisoners and charitable allowances L165 and special, L3,610

The British desire to establish a regular system of order in the country was hampered by the question of money and although British authority on the coast could not be enforced except through the chiefs, the more the British interfered with the traditional rulers, the less effective the power of both became. The uncooperative attitude of the Dutch to the British need to raise funds for expenses and development brought about financial measures which resulted in the disillusionment of the British colonial government as well as a rising African merchant class and a group often referred to as "educated Africans." These "educated Africans", often poorly educated, were the products of the government and mission schools of the period. As such, some graduates secured positions as agents for missionaries or as government clerks, but in the increasingly differentiated occupational structure of the time they frequently sought employment connected with European trade.³ Thus education was viewed by the Africans as an entrée

64. 3. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana,

to financial success. As one study of education during the period has revealed, "Education meant one thing above all, the opportunity to enter more highly paid posts within the exchange sector of the economy."⁴

To be sure, the prospects for many individuals entering trade as merchants were limited, since the modern economy had not expanded sufficiently to absorb all who wished to enter trade. Cruickshank has observed, "the whole trade of the coast was very insignificant, and to so few, that there was but little room for employment from this source."⁵

These so called educated natives, concentrated mainly in the urban centres of Cape Coast and Accra, were often blamed for reactions or protests against the growth of British administration on the Gold Coast.

The presence of the educated natives in Cape Coast and Accra and their desire to enter the modern exchange economy was in itself a manifestation of the changes taking place in these urban areas and part of the process

4. Ibid., 66.

5. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 64-5.

of economic transformation in the country being worked by the growth of trade. Although precise details of the development of these two major urban centres during this time are lacking, nevertheless, some observations can be made.

The importance of Cape Coast before 1807 derived from the slave trade and consequently declined after abolition. With the revived and increased trade, especially during the era of Maclean, the town re-assumed status as a depot for import trade into the Gold Coast.⁶

As a growing urban area, Cape Coast, by the middle of the nineteenth century, presented a marked contrast between the dwellings of the masses of the people of the town and the residences of the wealthier class. One traveller described Cape Coast thus:

It consists for the most part of mud houses. . . Here and there may be seen a residence of better construction belonging to some chief or merchant. 7

Another visitor to the town between 1847-1848 described it in some detail:

6. Swanzy, "On Trade in West Africa with and without British Protection," 479.

7. Allen, The Gold Coast or, a Cruise in West African Waters, 16.

The town of Cape Coast extends inland immediately from the Castle. It presents an odd intermixture of native huts and houses, more or less of European style. . . That part of the town occupied by the poorer classes consists of houses terribly huddled together, composed of "swish". . . In parts of the town where European merchants or wealthy natives reside the houses are of superior kind, being composed of brick, flat-roofed, and well white-washed. 8

Both Cape Coast and Accra briefly experienced municipal governments in 1858 when Governor Benjamin Pine encouraged experiments in local corporations.⁹ In Cape Coast a municipal council was elected composed of F. C. Grant, J. Smith, J. Tandoe, H. Barnes, T. Hughes, J. R. Thompson, and R. Hutchinson. The municipal corporation was to establish a court with the jurisdiction to impose fines up to L50 and prison sentences not exceeding six months.¹⁰ A proposed house rate by the corporation probably reflected the increasing differentiation in wealth and habitation. Houses were divided into seven classes and assessed according to the following rates:¹¹

8. C. A. Gordon, Life on the Gold Coast (London, 1874), 3-4.

9. C.O.96/43: Pine to Stanley, 7 March 1858; Kimble, Political History, 185-6.

10. Kimble, Political History, 185.

11. C.O.96/43: Bird to Lytton, 10 August 1858.

1st at L3 per annum
 2nd at L2 per annum
 3rd at L1 per annum
 4th at L 10s per annum
 5th at 5s per annum
 6th at 3s per annum
 7th at 1s per annum

Cape Coast had been a prosperous centre of commerce before the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade and Asante invasion of 1807, as was Accra. Accra's prosperity was confirmed by Henry Meredith:

Prior to the present war [Asante invasion of 1807] and to the abolition of the Slave-trade, a vast trade was carried on at Accra by many nations. Here might be seen a conflux of Ashantees, Akims, Aquapims, Fantees, Aquamboes, Crepees, and even a remote inland people who went under the appellation of Duncoes; a name given by the Fantees to men, whose country is not known, or who come a long way from the interior. 12

Although trade at Accra was somewhat disrupted because of the Asante war, commerce was flourishing more than in other parts of the coast. In 1811 Meredith noted that "Accra is the only country on the Gold-coast, that has a free trade with the interior; and it is in general very much resorted to by the Ashantees."¹³ Accra's

12. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast, 217-8.

13. Ibid.

flourishing commerce was no doubt helped, as evidenced by the bulk of Gold Coast exports from the town especially after the 1830's, by its location near the rich palm oil district of the eastern region.

In addition to its choice site, Accra was supposed to be one of the most healthy areas along the Gold Coast.¹⁴ One British navy officer confirmed this when he said, "Accra is a settlement the most attractive of any on the coast, to the officers of the ships of war, employed in now vainly endeavouring to suppress the slave trade. . .".¹⁵

Appropriate to its prominence as a commercial centre, Accra had a hotel:

Accra boasts an hotel where a traveller can put up in comfort. There is neither sign nor name, nor any emblem which could lead a casual traveller to know it was an inn. Casual travellers, however, must be few indeed at Accra, and the customers of the hotel must be principally the captains of ships trading there, or agents of mercantile houses stopping there for a week between the arrival of one steamer and the departure of the next. 16

Besides the hotel there was a market house in the town by 1874, but the people preferred trading on the streets.

14. George Alfred Henty, The March to Coomasie, (London, 1874), 254.

15. H. Huntley, Seven Years' Service on the Slave Coast of Western Africa, 2 vols., (London, 1850), 82.

16. Henty, March to Coomasie, 255.

G. A. Henty described the scene:

The principal street of Accra is an amusing sight; some effort appears to be made to keep it clean, and the sales people sit upon little mats, or upon low stools which are used all over this country. They line both sides of the street, and expose for sale every sort of article prized by the natives, and the goods being contained in wooden trays everywhere in use here. 17

In these growing urban¹⁸ centres the appearance of a regular labour force by 1850 was inevitable. Between 1850 and 1872 the following wages for labour were quoted,¹⁹

Description of labour	1850	1854	1860	1872*
Domestics per month	10s	15s	10s	L9-L20 per year (6d to 1/3 per day)
Predial per month	5s	10s	10s	L9 per year (6d to 9d per day)
Trades per month	L1 0s	L1 0s	15s	L18 to L25 per year (1s to 1/6 per day)
Trades -- jobbing per day	-	-	1s	-

*By 1871 where labour was undertaken at a distance, an additional rate of 3d per day was granted for subsistence.

17. Ibid., 258.

18. Despite their importance, Accra and Cape Coast were by no means the only urban centres. Winneba, Dixcove and Anomabo were also important towns with a fair amount of trade. The latter town which was the operation centre of leading merchants like George Blankson, Samuel Collins Brew and R. J. Ghartey was important.

19. C.O.442/27-41.

Besides a regular labour supply, the two aforementioned principal towns began to rely upon certain articles of food and luxury. These items and their changing prices are given in the table below in the form of average Cape Coast and Accra rates.²⁰ Prices in other areas were considerably higher for imported goods.

Articles	1850			1855			1860			1871-1872		
	L	S	d	L	s	d	L	s	d	L	s	d
Wheaten flour, barrel	2	10	0	3	12	0	3	12	2	3	12	0
Wheaten bread, lb.	0	0	4	0	0	4	0	0	3	0	0	6
Horned cattle, each	5	0	0	5	0	0	6	0	0	7L to 8L		
Horses, each	--			--			15	0	0	35		
Sheep, each	0	15	0	0	18	0	1	0	0	1	2	6
Goats, each	0	10	0	0	7	6	0	10	0	0	10	0
Swine, each	0	15	0	0	12	6	0	18	0	0	12	6
Milk, pint	0	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	3	0	0	6
Butter: fresh, per quart	--			--			--			--		
Butter: salt, cwts.	<u>c</u> 7	0	0	0	2	6*	9	2	6*	0	2	6*
Cheese, cwts.	<u>c</u> 7	10	0	0	1	6*	0	1	8*	0	1	6*
Beef, lb.	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	6d to 1s		
Mutton, lb.	0	0	10	0	0	10	0	0	9	0	0	9
Pork, lb.	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6
Rice, lb.	0	0	4	0	0	6	0	0	6	0	0	6
Coffee, lb.	0	0	10	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	6
Tea, lb.	0	5	10	0	6	9	0	4	0	0	4	6
Sugar, lb.	0	0	10	0	0	6	0	0	10	0	0	9
Salt, rough, cwt.	<u>c</u> 0	8	0	0	0	1*	0	0	0½*	0	0	1*
Wine, dozen, bottle	<u>d</u> 2	0	0	**			<u>d</u> 2	2	0	b3s 6d to 4s 6d		
Brandy, gallon, dozen, bottle	<u>d</u> 0	10	0	<u>d</u> 1	16	0	<u>d</u> 2	8	0	b4s 6d to 5s		
Beer, dozen, bottle	<u>d</u> 0	12	6	<u>d</u> 0	13	6	<u>d</u> 0	13	6	b1s to 1s 3d		
Tobacco, cwt.	<u>c</u> 4	4	0	0	1	0	0	0	10*	0	1	6*

*represents weight by lb.

**Madeira 36s to 40s per dozen and port and claret 54s per dozen.

20. C.O.442/27 for 1850 prices; C.O.442/28 for 1855 prices; C.O.442/33 for 1860 prices and C.O.442/41 for 1871-1872 prices.

Besides the educated natives, there had emerged in the urban centres on the Gold Coast^{tt} by 1850 a class of indigenous merchants who were in no way inferior in education and culture to their local European counterparts.²¹ Such a group in itself was nothing new; in earlier centuries there had been influential men of trade like Edward Barter, John Kabes, and John Konney.²² However, by the 1850's these African merchants were more numerous, more influential and wielded more power than their predecessors. At a time when British rule was becoming entrenched on the Gold Coast, they often used their ascendancy to encourage protests against British administrative acts and frequently used their position to further a policy of social and economic development.²³

The power of the African merchants grew at the expense of that of the chiefs. This phenomenon marked very significant changes in the character of the economy.

21. Forster, Education and Social Change, 68-69; Priestly, West African Trade and Coast Society, 143.

22. See Daaku, Trade and Politics, 96-114.

23. Kimble, Political History, 168.

The traditional ruler's power was in some way associated with wealth, but the riches of the chiefs were acquired through their status, (presents, fines, tributes and in some cases through trading) and they dispersed wealth to others through feasts, presents and other customary activities on a non-economic basis.²⁴ Merchants, on the other hand, acquired their possessions through profits of trade and spent it in economic ways in the sense that they sought value for money. Although rising African merchants had some social obligations of economic and non-economic kind, it was true that there was a widening of the economic sphere in Gold Coast society which included a measure of individualization, with greater difference of wealth between persons of similar traditional status and a growth of importance of personal achievement in economic activities.

In Gold Coast society in old times, status was either inherited or attained by the political skills of rhetorical eloquence, diplomatic ability or military prowess.²⁵

24. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle, 295; J.E. Casely Hayford, Gold Coast Native Institutions, (London, 1903), 96.

25. Bowdich, Mission from Cape Coast Castle.

By the middle of the nineteenth century it was achieved through the creation of wealth by trade and production for market²⁶ by a group whose commercial and political interests frequently overlapped. Prominent members to be included in such a group are: James Bannerman, George Kuntu Blankson, Samuel Collins Brew, Robert Johnson Gharthey, James Robert Thompson, George Frank Cleland, Robert Hutchinson, J. E. Richter, F. C. Grant, Thomas Hughes, Joseph Smith, and Henry Barnes.

These African merchants (with the exception of a few pure Africans like Gharthey) were mostly men of English or Danish descent. Yet, even as Afro-European descendants they had an unquestioned place in African society because of their African mothers. In a way, their position in Gold Coast society was unique because of their dual relationship with European and African

26. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 41.

society and frequently, as was the case of people like Frank Cleland of Accra, Samuel Brew of Anomabo and James Bannerman of Accra they were related to traditional authorities by birth or through marriage. At a time when trade was largely based on credit, the individual standing and applications probably played a part in the credit-worthiness of the person concerned. It is probable that Africans like R. J. Gharthey and Frank Cleland who adopted European names did so for trade purposes.

In 1873 when George Alfred Henty arrived on the Gold Coast to cover the Asante war for a London newspaper he observed in relation to Mrs. Kate Swanzy that "It is curious that all the names which one meets with in Bowdich are those of the leading people fifty years later."²⁷ Some of them, Joseph Smith and George Blankson, for example, were often associated with and worked for the Wesleyan Mission. At some stage of their business career they were frequently employed as the correspondents of the two main British Merchant Houses, Forster and Smith or F. and A. Swanzy²⁸, so that it is difficult at times

27. Henty, March to Coomassie, 207.

28. Merchants like Joseph Smith and Robert Hutchinson worked for these firms.

to distinguish their views from those of British traders. It is also noteworthy that a number of them, like Samuel Collins Brew and Joseph Smith, failed in business at one time or another. No doubt, the system of extended credit established on the coast was particularly responsible.

In addition to the African merchants, there were wealthy African women who were wives of Europeans on the coast. H. Bridge who visited the Gold Coast in 1844 reported that "all the Europeans have native wives."²⁹ According to Bridge, "These women are entrusted with all the property of their husbands, and are sometimes left for months in sole charge, while the merchants visit England."³⁰ Prominent among these African women were Mrs. Kate Swanzy, wife of Andrew Swanzy, and Mrs. Barnes, wife of Henry Barnes.³¹

In 1873 when the British experienced difficulty finding carriers to transport loads into the interior,

29. Bridge, Journal, 141.

30. Ibid., 142.

31. According to Andrew Swanzy, in 1874 Mrs. Barnes was the only African with sufficient capital to trade on her own account by ordering goods directly from England. See "On Trade with Western Africa with and without British Protection", 479.

Mrs. Swanzy, Mrs. Barnes and other wealthy women of Cape Coast considered the matter and provided the necessary people. Mrs. Swanzy alone sent eighty of her people. Of the eighty she sent, Henty thought perhaps about half a dozen were her slaves and the rest were her clients.

Henty explained this system:

The Clients include freed men and women, and their children and descendants, together with a number of others who have, from some reason or other, chosen one or other of the great houses as their protectors. Thus the Swanzys have for fifty years been the leading merchants of the place, and the descendants of the domestic slaves whom they have held during that time would in themselves, amount to a large clientele. There, too, are the families of their work people, who would, in times of distress or illness, come to them for assistance, and who look up to them as protectors as well as employers. So the connection extends, and becomes hereditary. On the one side there is advice, kindness, gifts at Christmas, help in sickness; upon the other, a sort of feudal obedience, a reliance in trouble, and a readiness, upon occasions of this sort, to carry out the wish of the protector. It is, indeed, a good deal the same position which the other natives occupy towards their chiefs; except that in the cases of persons like Mrs. Swanzy and Mrs. Barnes, the actual assistance and kindness shown to their clients is greater than that which the chiefs can afford to dispose. 32

This semi-feudal role imposed on the merchant-class was hardly compatible with their evolution into a class of capitalist entrepreneurs. Such a role played by the African merchants seems to be of key importance, which partly explains the decline of this class when called upon to stand up to serious competition from European firms who had no social obligations on the Coast. The clientel of the leading merchants was but one indication of their growing position, influence and the declining power of the traditional rulers. In 1873, after the British experienced considerable difficulty securing troops from the chiefs and people to carry loads inland, a reporter observed:

It was supposed that the policy of the last twenty years (a policy which has very properly been directed to breaking the authority of the Kings here, of reducing their importance, and of making the people look up to the Government as the only authority) could be cancelled at once. The petty Kings and Chiefs of Cape Coast were called upon to raise armies of fighting men; but the Kings and Chiefs had years ago been deprived of their power by the Government here, and reduced to nonentities. Their authority was gone, and the police had to be called in to enable them to take out their men to the field. 33

The local merchants were able to rise to their position of eminence because of their wealth and their state as a power vacuum as the role and influence of traditional rulers and chiefs declined. Wealth is a positive resource to be wielded in the maintenance of power, but the interdiction of the Atlantic slave trade ended a profitable source of income for chiefs on the Gold Coast. The waning of the power of chiefs in the country probably began in 1807. Before this date, large profits from trade had enabled the chiefs to buy the firearms necessary for defence, customary ceremonial purposes; to maintain a position consistent with their dignity and authority; and even to act as a distributor of wealth among their people. However, with the passing of the slave trade went an important source of wealth, and with it power and authority.

Beginning in 1807 when Asante invaded the coastal states, the gradual inability of the rulers to satisfy their subjects' demands was becoming evident. A diminishing source of wealth for rulers with the consequent

inability to purchase sufficient firearms meant that they were unable to defend themselves against Asante attacks. This responsibility was to fall upon the British.³⁴

Commencing with Asante confrontations with the coastal states in 1807 and subsequent clashes in 1811, 1814-1816, 1823-1826, 1863-1864, and 1873-1874 dispatches from the Gold Coast, although sometimes highly biased, were not far from the truth in asserting that if the British left the country Asante would overrun the country.³⁵

At any rate without British aid, the defence of the coastal states would have been difficult after 1807. As two merchants put it, "the great bond of attraction which unites the people to us, [British] is the value of our support against Ashanti." The inability to defend their states was one evidence of the gradual diminution of the power of the Gold Coast chiefs.

A further indication of the weakening of the power of indigenous rulers was the cessation of customary rents,

³⁴. Kwame Arhin, "Diffuse Authority among the Coastal Fanti," 68-69.

³⁵. C.O.96/19; J. Bannerman and Brodie Cruickshank to Winniett, 22 August 1850; Metcalfe, Documents, 219-220.

gifts and salaries they had formerly been entitled to receive from European traders. From the inception of European trade on the Gold Coast there had been the practice of paying customs, rent for the ground on which the fort stood and of giving presents to chiefs and men of influence and authority on the coast in order to promote trade.³⁶ As Meredith wrote in 1811:

It may be necessary to remark, that we appear to claim no right of conquest in Africa, as far as it respects the natives: the company pay ground-rent and water-custom at most of their settlements. The people are regulated by their own laws and customs, and will not submit to our's. When they agree to any laws between the Whites and themselves, they generally break them; if they operate against the interest of the Blacks. The forts have been maintained for the purpose of trade only, and to enforce laws is attended with much difficulty, expense, and risk; consequently, it is prudent to avoid hostilities, if they can any way decently be avoided; and indeed it must be so, while our force in that country is so small. 37

While the English clearly distinguished between ground rent and customary contributions, the Dutch did not. Dr. Daaku has pointed out that in agreements

36. Sarbah, Fanti National Constitution, 89; Daaku, Trade and Politics; Davies, Royal African Company, 282.

37. Meredith, Account of the Gold Coast of Africa, 103-4.

between the Dutch and Africans on the payment of ground rent it was expected that at a certain time the Dutch should pay their rents in specific goods. It is therefore possible that in fulfilling their obligations, Europeans, at times, obscured their true significance by describing them as gifts or presents.³⁸ Whether or not gifts to chiefs were an integral part of the ground rent for forts all residents were expected to contribute towards customary obligations. John Mensah Sarbah has written:

In addition to the ground rents paid to them, the headmen of the towns enforced the payment of sundry monthly allowances, including Christmas presents, chiefs' customs, water customs, Sunday and Wednesday liquor, and other contributions towards the expenses attending the observance of the yearly stool custom of the principal local ruler. 39

Daaku further elaborates this point:

There were and still are festivals held annually at different times in many places, on which occasions every member of the community contributed towards the cost of the celebrations. The festivities comprised of dancing and merry-making, as well as the renewal of the bonds between the living and the dead. Theoretically the rulers were expected to entertain their visitors on a lavish scale. In

38. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 64.

39. Sarbah, Fanti National Constitution, 89.

actual practice, however, it was the people who bore the expenses, through the tributes and presents made to the chiefs. It was a common practice to ask the people to contribute specific items according to their geographical environment or their profession. The regular payments that the Europeans made during such periods, therefore, were nothing but their expected contribution made in accordance with customary law. All the resident Europeans were expected to fulfill such obligations. ⁴⁰

The practice of giving customary gifts became expensive and in 1780 the president and council at Cape Coast Castle attempted, without success, to abolish some of the contributions towards customary observance. ⁴¹

In the last years of the rule of the Company of Merchants on the Gold Coast, the payments of presents and rents amounted to between L500 and L600 ⁴² but these payments were not resumed when the Crown took over the settlements. ⁴³ Although the payment of tribute was rejected, the provision of the arms to African allies was continued on a small scale. ⁴⁴

40. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 64.

41. Sarbah, Fanti National Constitution, 89.

42. Newbury, British Policy Towards West Africa, 14. These payments are obviously much smaller than the customary payments European traders had made to African rulers at the height of the slave trade.

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid., 14 and 15.

It would seem that the Committee of Merchants resumed the customary payments, gifts and salaries when they began administering the settlements in 1828, but in 1836 George Maclean abolished it. Maclean said that the monthly allowances to chiefs amounted to securing their friendship or their services when required for war and that the coastal chiefs who received salaries were also required to render certain services such as defence and keeping certain roads cleared. Since George Maclean felt that the people had in no instance performed any of the services they were bound to perform, he discontinued the pay.⁴⁵

The apparent irregularity of allowances after this date implies that the local government made full use of the above suggestion.⁴⁶ Maclean could take such an action because with the declining influence of chiefs, he could set their authority at naught. Furthermore, the ground rent paid for the forts which had reverted to

45. C.O.98/1A, Council Minutes, 8 February 1836; Metcalfe, Documents, 141-2.

46. Sarbah, Fanti National Constitution, 90.

Asante after 1807 also was not paid to the coastal chiefs after her defeat in 1826.⁴⁷

The Colonial Office later instructed the local government on the coast that the allowances in question were never given for any specific purposes and that they should be resumed. The British government, however, added in reference to duties like cleaning of streets and the like that:

We think it highly necessary and conducive to the health and comfort of all classes, and cannot be too strictly enforced; we do therefore direct that, in the event of any refusal to comply with this requisition, the portion of the town showing the least neglect be mulcted for a time of a part of the whole of their allowances. 48

The Danes followed the British example of abolishing payments to African rulers. At a meeting of the Council at the Danish settlement at Accra, the members resolved that payment to African rulers was antiquated and that they ought to follow the practice of other Europeans in abolishing it. They argued that they settled numerous cases among the Africans in the castle at Christiansborg

47. C.O.98/1A: Council Minutes, 8 February 1836; Metcalfe, Documents, 141-2.

48. Sarbah, Fanti National Constitution, 90.

without any payments from the local people. The Council said that the fact that cases were brought before local merchants rather than the chiefs showed that the traders had advantages over the traditional authorities and that the time had come for the Danish establishment to restrict gifts to chiefs in the Danish establishments.⁴⁹ Consequently, all salaries to chiefs in the Danish settlements were suspended in 1844.⁵⁰

While salaries and ground rents were disallowed, occasional presents to the chiefs were continued until the British Crown resumed control of the settlements. In 1847 resident merchants held a meeting at Cape Coast Castle and wondered how much longer the chiefs who were not only deprived of this source of employment, but also of the exercise of complete authority would continue to submit to British authority. The merchants present at the meeting resolved:

That since the discontinuance of occasional presents to the Native Chiefs which during the Government of the President and Council had been so useful in

49. G.J. No. 504, 22 August 1843, Edward Carstensen to George Lutterodt.

50. G.J. No. 553, 1844.

securing the obedience and respect of the People, and the consequent general peace and prosperity of the Country, there had been a gradual and perceptible change in the feelings of the different Tribes to the British Government, not that their attachment and obedience were now more the result of necessity than the spontaneous feeling of the heart, and it was doubtful how much longer the chiefs, deprived as they were by the British Government of exercising uncontrolled authority over the people, would submit to the dictation of the British authorities; that it is therefore highly expedient to resume the practice of giving occasional presents to the Native Chiefs. 51

The disappearance of salaries and the use of presents to buy the loyalty of indigenous chiefs were further overt signs of their waning influence of the coastal rulers on the Gold Coast.

The chiefs' influence had especially suffered under the extended jurisdiction of Maclean. "The Supervision of the government tended to lessen the consequence of the chiefs," wrote an observer.⁵² One Governor who deplored this practice asserted: "I may say here, once and for all, that I consider of late years, there has been too much interference with the authority of the

51. C.O.96/21: A meeting of the sessions held at Cape Coast Castle on Wednesday, 1 December 1847. Present were: Brodie Cruickshank, F. Swanzy, Thomas Hutton, Henry Smith and Andrew Swanzy and all European merchants.

52. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 11.

native chiefs. . . This interference has been exerted by ignoring the native tribunals, and by allowing the chiefs to be summoned before our courts in comparatively trivial cases."⁵³ The decline of their influence and the interference in their power did not go without protest:

. . . individual chiefs have, upon several occasions, attempted to assert their independence, and to resist the authority of the government; but although a partial and temporary success has sometimes attended their efforts, yet they have never been able to withstand its power for any length of time. The arms of rebellion have dropped one by one from their hands, without the intervention of force, and left them naked and defenceless, at the mercy of the government. Their own dependents, sensible to their increased privileges through the intervention of the Europeans, did not desire to see their chiefs independent of control, and were therefore lukewarm in their support. ⁵⁴

With their ever decreasing political and economic power, it was unlikely that the chiefs could successfully reassert their pristine influence.

Whatever vestiges of the traditional ruler's economic power and political influence remained by the middle of the nineteenth century were eclipsed by the emerging indigenous merchants. Africanus Horton observed this

53. C.O.96/41: Pine to Labouchere, 31 August 1857.

54. Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, II, 12.

change, writing that Mankesim, the old capital of Fante, used to be "a famous Fetish town for all the Fantees, and exercised considerable control over the Government of the country; but, through the Government aided by the educated inhabitants it has now no influence."⁵⁵

The rise of the African merchants was the result of many factors, chief among which were opportunities for entering trade enhanced by London merchant houses like Forster, Smith and Swanzy who sent quantities of goods to correspondents on the coast to be sold on commission and often available easy credit. Another clearly discernable factor that contributed to the prominence of the African merchants can almost be described as a revolution in the Gold Coast and, indeed, the West African trade, was the arrival of steamships. The formation of the African Steamship Company in 1852 for trade in West Africa regularised and shortened the transportation between England and West Africa from 35 days to 21 days and less. More important, the steamships took the seasonal problems out of shipping.

55. Horton, West African Countries and Peoples, 120.

While all previous shipping to the coast had belonged to trading firms and carried goods to their agents and correspondents the steamship company was an innovation in the sense that it provided a freight service only for its customers. This resulted in an increase of trade of the variety of products dealt in, and in the tonnage of British shipping in West Africa which in 1854 totaled 57,000 and by 1874 stood at 504,000. In 1869, another steamship company, the British and African Steam Navigation Company, was also formed. Larger vessels, fewer crews and more voyages per year enabled the steamship companies to reduce freight charges.⁵⁶

The impact of steamers on the Gold Coast was great, with an increasing number of the people encouraged by the smaller firms in Liverpool and London to enter directly into the import and export trade. Such firms and their correspondents on the coast were able to compete effectively against the larger merchant houses which continued to send goods in their own ships on

56. McPhee, Economic Revolution in British West Africa, 71; Brooks, Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen, 126-7 and 269.

consignment to correspondents on the Gold Coast. So successful were the steamships that their operations elicited the jealousy of large merchant houses. Companies like Forster and Smith, and F. and A. Swanzy became alarmed at the increased direct trade with indigenous merchants and tried to interfere with the operations of the steamships which hit at the trade that had once been their monopoly.⁵⁷ The result was clear by 1857 when it was observed with slight exaggeration that "the old class of large European merchants who greatly monopolized the trade have passed away and the amount of business done formerly by a few, is now in the hands of numerous small traders, chiefly natives."⁵⁸ Despite the growing participation of the Africans in the trade a large part of it was still in the hands of Forster and Smith and F. and A. Swanzy.

With augmented trade and social change on the Gold Coast and growing influence of the power of a new class of merchants, this group came to dominate the affairs of

57. C.O.96/40: C. H. Gregory to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, 19 May 1856.

58. C.O.96/4: Freeman to Pine, 27 June 1857.

the Gold Coast. Frequently in opposition to the British and sometimes vying for power with the traditional rulers, they often used their influence to protect and to foster their own interests. As Raymond Firth has observed, "In a situation of economic growth, leaders are to a considerable extent self-recruiting or self-generating group. They also develop vested interests. Incentives to leadership may consist partly in substantial material benefits, but usually include, even more significantly status attribution and the command of power."⁵⁹

As leadership for economic growth depends, among other factors, upon the relationship of economic power and political power, it is to be expected that the indigenous merchants saw political power as a vital factor of their economic position. Such power was necessary for the promotion of an outlook, and acceptance of new values, needed to mobilize the resources of the traditional economy for progress. Thus, there is often a change in the structure of power and in economic growth

59. Raymond Firth, "Leadership and Economic Growth," International Social Science Journal, XVI, 2 (1964), 190.

with the old elite often being displaced.⁶⁰ The character of the chiefly and traditional institutions on the Gold Coast, however, were sufficiently flexible to accomodate a godd deal of social change, so that a Gharthey or a Brew could rise through trade to chiefly office. Despite their wealth and influence the new class was often prepared to work with and through the chiefs.

Between 1850 and 1874, at a time when great social changes were taking place, this attempt by the merchants to obtain power and influence was reflected in all the major events in a critical period for the Gold Coast as the country was faced with many crises: the poll tax, the Krobo dispute, the Asante invasion, the Anlo war, the exchange of territories between the Dutch and the English and the Fante Confederation. The wars had a disrupting influence on trade and the other events brought to the fore the conflict inherent in the change of political and economic power. Economic factors often underlay these events, and the so-called "native merchants" or "educated Africans" frequently used their influence to manipulate traditional rulers in furthering

60. Ibid., 199.

their causes. This is not to say that the chiefs and traditional rulers did not have any grievances of their own; the Poll Tax Ordinance failed to honor the stipends it had promised. They also resented the recruitment of their slaves for the government's Gold Coast Corps. As Freeman observed, "extreme dissatisfaction existed among the Chiefs and Headmen at the time of the raising of the Gold Coast Corps, when many of their domestic slaves enlisted as soldiers, and thus escaped from under their authority, without their approbation. . .and without any preparatory arrangement being made for their redemption."⁶¹ They complained, too, about "the frequent long detention of the Heads of the people at the Police Court -- Towns on the Coast, (especially at Cape Coast,) awaiting various judicial proceedings on matters of comparatively small moment; thereby putting them often to a heavy expense in supporting their numerous trains of domestic servants, without whom the etiquette and usages of the country would not allow them to travel."⁶²

61. C.O.96/41: 27 June 1857, Freeman to Pine.

62. Ibid.

Although in 1849 a group of local merchants had written to Governor Winniett to say that the existing form of government they enjoyed under the Crown was the best and wished it to remain unaltered⁶³, it was not long before they began to oppose it. Some divergences of interest can be discerned within the trading clan. Even though many of the African merchants were indebted to, and more or less dependent on, the two principal European firms, Forster and Smith and F. and A. Swanzy, some indigenous merchants preferred a government not to be in the hands of the rival resident European merchants, who had attempted to restrict their trading activities with ships engaged in the floating trade. Nonetheless the African merchants often acted in concert with European merchants in seeking to dominate the affairs

63. C.O.96/19: Memorial of Native Traders, in Winniett to Grey, 25 August 1850. Also, C.O.96/19: Bannerman to Cruickshank, 22 August 1850; Metcalfe, Documents, 219-20.

of the Gold Coast, and the merchants always held up the period of rule by the merchant committee as a period of unrivaled prosperity due to expert advice from the council of local merchants.⁶⁴

In 1850 when a legislative council was established, the merchants agitated to dominate by constituting the majority of members and even though the merchant community had representations in two of the five seats in the persons of James Bannerman and Brodie Cruickshank, they were not content.⁶⁵ This arrangement deliberately preserved an "official majority" in the Council. As a modern scholar has put it, "the crux of the matter was that the merchants wanted not simply representation, but control of both Governor and Judicial Assessor."⁶⁶ In the view of some merchants it was folly not to give the merchants a larger role in the Government:

64. C.O.96/12: Forster to Grey, 22 March 1847; Metcalfe, Documents, 203; Bannerman, Cruickshank and Clouston to Forster, 2 February 1847.

65. Ibid. The other officials of the legislature included a Governor, Judicial Assessor and Collector of Customs.

66. Metcalfe, "After Maclean," T.H.G.C.T. I, part v (1955), 182.

As long as the council is composed chiefly of executive officers resident in the castle, having few and faint sympathies with the people, and to whom the welfare of this country is, by the circumstances of their appointment, subordinate to their own direct pecuniary interests, who are utterly ignorant of the trade and nature of the country, who, looking upon their residence there merely as a stepping stone to a better appointment somewhere else and longing for the day when they shall finally quit the shores of Africa, feel little interest in its prosperity, and who do not possess that respect and confidence on the part of the inhabitants which long residence and continued intercourse with them confer -- the co-operation of the merchants and people will not be obtained. 67

Some of the European merchants like Swanzy and Cruickshank, who was for a long time the local representative of the firm Forster and Smith, were indeed long residents on the coast and were, in general, in closer touch with the people through trading, marriage and concubinage arrangements. They therefore urged the election of four more members by merchants and respectable inhabitants to the legislature because of their close association with the people.⁶⁸ It was argued that if the scheme to elect additional members failed and the council

67. C.O.96/21: H. Smith and F. Swanzy to Earl Grey, 16 August 1850, Metcalfe, Documents, 217-18.

68. The merchants changed their minds about an elective council in 1851 because it was felt that while merchants of the highest respectability could vote, it was felt that such native authorities could carry such an election by their sheer numbers. Metcalfe, Documents, 221.

continued in its present form, an alternative arrangement would be the formation of a separate chamber composed of chiefs, or representatives of the rulers, unconnected with the Government where local affairs of the country could be debated. The proponents felt that such a council would bind the inhabitants together and bring an end to quarrels among them.⁶⁹ But the Secretary of State, who was not "prepared to place in the hands of a few merchants (whose interests or at least what they believe to be such are by no means necessarily identical with those of the population) the power of controlling the government", did not look with favour upon the scheme.⁷⁰ Although Grey did not want the structure of the legislature altered, he suggested that "a chamber of commerce should be created and that by requiring the drafts of laws to be made public before they are passed, this body would be enabled to advise upon them."⁷¹ This proposal did not satisfy the traders.

69. C.O.96/21: H. Smith and F. Swanzy to Earl Grey, 16 August 1859; Metcalfe, Documents, 217-18.

70. C.O.96/21: Minute by Grey, 5 November 1850.

71. C.O.96/19: Minute by Grey, 16 November 1850.

Their hope of securing a majority on the council failing, the leading spokesmen of the merchants proposed (probably not very seriously,)⁷² that an "Assembly of Native Chiefs" should be established. The merchants maintained that there was no legally acknowledged medium of communication between the people and the government except through proclamations, orders to individual chiefs and the intervention of the police. They felt that there was no way to assess the sentiments of the country on necessary measures and these could not be carried out without the agreement of the people. Furthermore, they deemed it essential to have the assistance and cooperation of the indigenous authorities in implementing legislation affecting the inhabitants. They propounded:

That as it would be perfectly impossible to govern the immense population of the Gold Coast without the instrumentality of the chiefs, it is an imperative duty, incumbent upon the Government, to endeavor to elevate the moral standard of native jurisdiction by such a general code of Regulations as may be found necessary to meet the exigencies of the country.

72. See Metcalfe, "After Maclean," 186-7 where he suggests that the idea was not a serious one and that the merchants were taken aback when Grey favoured the proposal.

That for this purpose, a legally constituted deliberative assembly, to be called "The Assembly of Native Chiefs," be appointed to meet at Cape Coast Castle twice every year for the purpose of framing with the assistance of the Judicial Assessor and other magistrates such laws as shall, when sanctioned and confirmed by the Governor, become generally binding upon the natives of the country; and, that the members of this Assembly receive a small annual stipend from the Government. 73

The "Assembly of Native Chiefs" suggested by Bannerman and Cruickshank was somewhat similar to the alternate proposal of Smith and Swanzy in forming a council of Chiefs. While realizing that Bannerman and Cruickshank occupied a somewhat ambiguous position by their very association with the local administration and their position as the spokesmen of the merchants, it is not unlikely that their suggestion, following closely upon that of their colleagues, was one pressure tactic of the Gold Coast merchants to force the Secretary of State to give them what they really wanted -- a majority in the legislative council. This, in part, would explain why the spokesmen of the merchant community eschewed their own proposal when Hill took it up. The merchants

73. C.O.96/19; James Bannerman and Brodie Cruickshank to Winniett, 22 August, 1850; Metcalfe, Documents, 219-20.

objected to the Assembly on the unconvincing pretext that:

As each king or chief moves attended by a very large and imposing body of followers fully armed, a general meeting, under such circumstances, would be the means of showing them their great physical power, as compared to ours, and therefore might defeat the object we should have in convening the assembly, and possibly be productive of the most serious consequence, should it have the effect of weakening the influence now possessed by the authorities here; added to which, each king or chief, according to custom, would expect a suitable present, and, the number being very great, the expenditure to satisfy all would necessarily be a larger outlay than your Lordship might be disposed to sanction. 74

The suggestion of the "Native Assembly" as expressed by the merchants was not devoid of clauses inserted for the benefit of the mercantile interest. The Assembly in the form proposed would have included the principal merchants who were all magistrates. These magistrates and the Judicial Assessor were to assist the Chiefs in framing "such laws as shall, when sanctioned and confirmed by the Governor, become generally binding upon the natives of the country." In essence, if the Governor accepted the suggested "Native Assembly" in the form it was proposed

74. Ibid.

he would in effect create an alternative legislative body where the influence of the Mercantile Community could prevail. Grey approved the Native Assembly put forward for consideration:

I entirely approve of the proposal to have a half-yearly meeting of chiefs to make laws and regulations for the districts, and that these chiefs should be paid. I think the salaries should be sufficient for their maintenance in a respectable manner, according to the notions of the people as to the manner in which chiefs ought to live, and that, in return for these salaries, they should undertake the duty and responsibility of maintaining the laws and enforcing order in their respective districts. 75

In order to provide for the salaries of the chiefs Grey suggested a small hut tax, as had been instituted in Natal in 1849, or a poll tax.⁷⁶

It is significant that the initial merchant opposition to Grey's proposal was not to the poll tax, but rather to the council of chiefs.⁷⁷ The Assembly which was to be "composed of his Excellency the Governor, his council, and the chiefs and headmen of the countries

75. C.O.96/19: Minute by Grey, 16 November 1850; Metcalfe, Documents, 221.

76. Ibid.

77. C.O.96/22: Hill to Grey, 27 October 1851; Metcalfe, Documents, 230.

upon the Gold Coast"⁷⁸ did not include magistrates as had been suggested by Bannerman and Cruickshank. For the tax itself there was no serious opposition, as Hill affirmed "All the persons to whom I have spoken on the subject, seem to think that it would be a desirable tax, and that no serious opposition will be offered to such a measure."⁷⁹ Among those consulted on the proposed tax were George Blankson, Samuel Collins Brew, and other prominent African merchants.⁸⁰ Bannerman and Cruickshank had also agreed in principle to the tax, saying that they did not anticipate any difficulty in raising a revenue from the poll tax.⁸¹

Such a need to raise revenue from the Gold Coast had been considered long before the Poll Tax Ordinance was passed in 1852. The Parliamentary grant of L4,000 was, of course, insufficient for the increasing commitments of the Government when it assumed control over the settlements in 1843. Although customs duties had

78. C.O.96/25: Poll Tax Ordinance, 19 April 1852; Metcalfe, Documents, 230-2.

79. C.O.96/22: Hill to Grey, 27 October 1851; Metcalfe, Documents, 230.

80. Priestly, West African Coast Society, 159.

81. C.O.96/19: Bannerman and Cruickshank. to Winniett, 22 August 1850.

been a potential source of revenue, the Dutch and Danish forts, dovetailing those of the British, made the imposition of tariffs difficult.⁸² In order to raise a revenue, Governor Winniett in 1847 had proposed levying a duty of three pence on each gallon of rum and gin.⁸³ The possibility of raising a revenue in support of the settlements had been one of the arguments advanced for purchasing the Danish forts.⁸⁴ The Poll Tax Ordinance of 1852 was, therefore, part of a measure to raise needed revenue for increasing governmental expenses and commitments.

The story of the poll tax is well known and may be briefly told.⁸⁵ It was instituted on the Gold Coast after the meeting of chiefs of the central and western region at Cape Coast in April, 1852 which was set up as a legislature and presided over by the Governor to enact laws, subject to his approval, "as it shall see fit for the better government of these countries."

82. Kimble, Political History, 169.

83. C.O.96/11: 20 May 1847, Winniett to Grey.

84. Metcalfe, Documents, 217.

85. The story is examined in great detail in Kimble, Political History, 168-91; Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 324-33.

In addition this assembly agreed to pay an annual tax of one shilling sterling per head for every man, woman and child residing in the districts under British protection. The agreement stated:

. . .that the revenue derived from this tax, after payment of the stipends of the chiefs, and other expenses attending its collection, be devoted to the public good in the education of the people, in the general improvement and extension of the judicial system, in affording greater facilities of internal communication, increased medical and, in such other measures of improvement and utility as the state of the social progress may render necessary, and that the chiefs be informed of the mode of its application, and entitled to offer such suggestion on this point as they may consider necessary. 86

In spite of the obstruction from what Hill called "educated natives," the ordinance went into effect. Hill had complained to Earl Grey:

The great difficulty that I found in my Government, was the impossibility of getting at the chiefs, to secure their support in carrying out any measures of utility; added to which certain educated natives, with no real pretension to any power, were in the practice of assuming an authority which did not belong to their position; by such means exercising an undue influence with the chiefs and headmen,

86. C.O.96/25: Poll Tax 'Ordinance,' 19 April 1852; Metcalfe, Documents, 230-2.

and generally opposing, in an underhand manner, the efforts of the Governor. And I am quite aware, in my own case, they have done all in their power to induce the natives not to agree to the proposed poll tax. 87

Frank Swanzy of the firm of F. and A. Swanzy was among those opposed to the introduction of the poll tax.

Swanzy wrote to the Colonial Office: "I cannot but think that such a tax is highly impolitic and will lead by and by to disputes and bad feeling." Swanzy wanted to ascertain whether the money produced by the tax would be at the disposition of the Governor alone or whether the Legislative Council would have any control over it. He suggested that it would be more satisfactory to the people who paid the tax if they knew that their money was expended by persons who had long been resident among them and who would spend it in a manner most likely to be beneficial to their country. Better still, the funds should be placed at the disposition of the natives and European magistrates who were, of course, merchants.⁸⁸

87. C.O.96/25: Hill to Grey, 23 April 1852; Metcalfe, Documents, 230-2.

88. C.O.96/26: F. Swanzy to Parkington, 13 July 1852.

In August, 1852, after instituting the poll tax in the western region, Hill also secured the agreement of the people of the eastern region to pay,⁸⁹ but not without some hesitation.⁹⁰ With the population to pay one shilling sterling each, it was estimated that the tax would yield a revenue of L20,000 per annum. The influential merchant and the chief agent of Forster and Smith on the Gold Coast, Brodie Cruickshank, became the first Collector-General of the poll tax, a post he relinquished upon becoming Acting Governor in August, 1853. The collection of the tax proceeded quietly during the first year of its inception⁹¹ and amounted to L6,656 of which L5,000 was left after deducting the expenses of collection.⁹²

By late 1853 resistance to the tax was beginning to appear and Acting Governor Cruickshank decided not to

89. C.O.96/25: Hill to Parkington, 29 August 1852.

90. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 324.

91. August 1852 to July 1853.

92. Kimble, Political History, 176. The Table of expenditure is reproduced on p. 177.

collect the tax between 1 August and 31 December 1853.⁹³ In January, 1854 when it was announced that the second installment of the tax was due, the people between Accra and the Volta refused to pay and riots broke out in Accra. Another attempt to collect the taxes in the Accra area in August led to more riots, which in turn led to the bombardment of Labadi, Teshi and Christiansborg with the resultant loss of life and property.⁹⁴ The income derived from the poll tax collection declined after the first year as evidenced by the figures below:⁹⁵

1853	7,567
1854	3,625
1855	3,990
1856	3,353
1857	3,192
1858	2,921
1859	2,351
1860	1,725
1861	1,552

Ostensibly, the reason given for the opposition to the Poll Tax Ordinance was its failure to fulfill its promise

93. C.O.96/40; Ord to Labourchere, 16 May 1856; Metcalfe, Documents, 255-6.

94. Kimble, Political History, 179; Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 323-33.

95. Kimble Political History, 187.

of paying the chiefs and devoting part of the money collected to social improvements. Despite Governor Benjamin Pine's attempt in 1857-1858 to reform the poll tax collection and its disbursement, the tax receipts decreased with no attempts made to collect it after 1862.⁹⁶ Although the poll tax scheme failed, its mere implementation in the first instance did not help the chiefs whose influence had been declining. The whole poll tax episode must have affected the chiefs' standing among their people since it was they who consented to the tax. In 1857 Benjamin Pine reported that it had lowered them in the eyes of the people, and "in some places almost destroyed their power." Pine said, "As they have a percentage of the proceeds of the tax, the people have regarded them as mere instruments of extortions. The consequence has been that in some places the power exercised by the chiefs has fallen into the hands of the dregs of the people."⁹⁷ Pine lamented the declining power of the chiefs because he felt it was a serious

96. Ibid., 189-91.

97. C.O.96/41: Pine to Labeuchere, 30 April 1857.

evil to destroy their power until an efficient substitute could be provided. Yet, because of the rising influence of the African merchants, he realized that it was impossible to restore the power of the chiefs:

At any rate, the restoration of the power of the chiefs in these towns was impossible. There are parts of the population over which they could never acquire control. There has grown up a large class of native merchants and traders, the greater part of whom are in advance of them in wealth and intelligence.⁹⁸

Much of the disaffection with the poll tax and with British rule in general centred around the indigenous merchants at Cape Coast. It was with justification that the Colonial Office blamed them for the troubles on the Gold Coast:

Cape Coast Town has always been under the influence of half-caste traders, men of a certain amount of substance and intelligence, connected with the houses of three trading firms [Forster and Smith, F. and A. Swanzy and Messrs. King of Bristol] which carry on the commerce of this part of Africa with England; mercantile brokers which governed these forts, until Parliament in 1846 (sic) thought it proper that the Government should take the control out of their hands. There has been already a contest between the officers respecting the Government and this trading interest.⁹⁹

98. Ibid.

99. C.O.96/31: Minute by Merivall, 14 February 1855.

More important for the purpose of this study are the economic implications and impact of the imposition of the tax. It is significant that an imposition of tax had been considered, and furthermore that the tax was to be levied in currency and not in kind. This in itself is an indication of the state of growth toward a modern economy that the Gold Coast had reached by the middle of the nineteenth century.

In the western region where gold dust passed as currency, the taxes were collected in gold dust and in the eastern region where cowries were the currency the tax was levied in cowrie shells. The mint value of gold dust was nearly L4 an ounce, but in 1843 an order in council established its value at L3 12s. Although merchants continued to buy gold at L4 an ounce, the local government on the Gold Coast used the L3 12s value which was known as the sterling value. The 10% difference was supposed to cover transportation, insurance and other costs involved in sending the gold dust to Britain.¹⁰⁰

^{100.} Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies in West Africa," 337-8.

Since the poll tax was one shilling sterling it meant that the tax was really about 10% higher than it would have been on the basis of the current mercantile rate.

At the time of Poll Tax Ordinance in 1852, the value of cowries at Accra was 2,400 = 1 dollar or ackie of 5s

1 string of cowries = 1d.

The Governor had been expecting to collect the tax in cowries, valued at about 3s 8d per head, which would have been approximately 4s currency, nearly 10% above its current value.¹⁰¹ However, by 1850 the Gold Coast was about to experience a cowrie inflation. With what Brodie Cruickshank estimated to be 150 tons of cowrie imports a year, the value of the currency could not be expected to remain the same. The decline of cowries which was to affect the poll tax is given in the table below.¹⁰²

101. Ibid., 338.

102. Ibid., 340.

Value of 2,000 Cowries,
Reduced to Shilling and Pence, 1850-1895

	Accra	
1850	4s	2d
1853	2s	9d to 3s
1855	3s	4d variable
1857	-	
1859	2s	6d
1863	-	
1870	2s	3d
1874	1s	3d
1876	1s	
1881	1s	
1888	2s	
1889	-	
1895	1s	

Although cowries had been worth 1d a string at the time of the poll tax was being discussed, when the first year's receipts of 20,000 heads of cowries, 40 million shells, were accounted they were worth only 2s 9d a head instead of the expected 3s 8d per head. There was an unexpected fall in the exchange rate of cowries which led to a loss of L900.¹⁰³ Thus between the assessment and the intake of the first year's yield cowries lost about a quarter of their value.

103. Ibid., 338.

Marion Johnson attributes this sudden inflation to the poll tax collection itself, and she further reasonably attributes much of the discontent in the eastern region to inflation:

At first sight, the collection of some 20,000 heads of cowries might be expected to have a deflationary effect; but in fact the effect was probably the opposite. Most of the cowries probably came from hoards (which might also help to explain the diminishing yield of the tax in subsequent years). Moreover, the government did not transport the cowries to the capital at Cape Coast, where they were not current, but exchanged them locally (hence the loss due to the fall in the exchange etc.). Thus some 20,000 heads of cowries were thrown suddenly on the exchange market -- sufficient to account for a decline in the value of a currency which had recently undergone a large increase in quantity. An export of some 300 tons of cowries to the Gold Coast is recorded in 1853.

The loss of confidence in the cowrie currency, and the consequent loss of value of savings, must have been at least aggravating causes in the serious political troubles which followed upon the introduction of the Poll Tax in the Accra area. 104

That the discontent in the eastern region and the resistance to the poll tax were to a large measure due to the inflation of the cowrie currency cannot be denied. While the people in the Accra region, led by their chiefs,

categorically refused to pay the tax¹⁰⁵, most people at Cape Coast based their resistance to the tax on the fact that the expenditure of the tax revenue had not fulfilled the promises of the poll tax ordinance.¹⁰⁶

While the poll tax failed to bring in the expected revenue the need for funds to meet local government expenses on the Gold Coast remained as urgent as ever. Consequently, in 1855 the government raised the import duty from $\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 2%, but despite complaints from merchants the duty remained.¹⁰⁷ The need to find some income for the administration of the settlements could not have been far from the minds of local government officials when a heavy fine was imposed on the Krobo in 1858 as the result of incidents following the attempt to collect the tax in Krobo. The Krobo fine, amounting to L8,125, supposedly to cover the cost of a punitive expedition against them, was farmed out to Mr. Robert Hutchinson, an African agent of F. and A. Swanzy. By this arrangement

105. Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed. 327.

106. C.O.96/34: Connor to Russell, 8 September 1855; Thomas Hughes to Cockrane, 16 August 1855; Kate Swanzy to Connor, 17 August 1855; and J. Bartels to Cockrane, 27 August 1855.

107. C.O.96/34: Conran to Russell, 2 July 1855.

Hutchinson would pay the government in cash and recoup it in palm oil from the Krobos. He subsequently farmed out L3,000 of his contract to W. Edwards, an African agent of Forster and Smith, and L750 to William Addo, an independent African trader.¹⁰⁸ The dispute with Krobo and the means adopted to collect the fine led to a palm oil hold-up, the first of its kind on the Gold Coast,¹⁰⁹ which affected the palm oil trade on the Gold Coast in the late 1850's and the 1860's.¹¹⁰

The Krobo fine in oil has remarkable similarities with the Danish expedition against the Krobos in 1836 which equally resulted in a fine collected in palm oil by the Danish merchant, H. Richter, who received the

108. C.O.96/44: Bird to Lytton, 9 October 1858; the story of the Krobo fine and the oil boycott that followed is covered in detail in Freda Wolfson, "A Price Agreement on the Gold Coast -- the Krobo Oil Boycott, 1858-1866", *E.H.R.*, VI, Series 2, 1 (1953-1954), 68-77. G. E. Metcalfe is right in his assertion that Wolfson reads too much into the incident-more than the facts warrant. However, the outline of her story is basically correct. Straight forward reporting of the incident is Wolfson's own account in her thesis "British Relations with the Gold Coast, 1843-1886" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1949).

109. *Ibid.* The second hold up was the effective cocoa-hold-up of 1930-1931 and treated in an article by Sam Rohdie, "The Gold Coast Cocoa Hold-up of 1930-1931" *T.H.S.G.*, IX (1968), 105-118.

110. See below and Chapter V.

farming of it.¹¹¹ Clearly one wonders why the Krobos bothered to push an activity which attracted trouble. That they continued the palm oil trade was indicative of their growing dependence upon the external trade. At the time of the earlier fine, George Maclean believed a Danish oil monopoly was the object of the campaign against the Krobo. While the local British government did not seek such a monopoly, their interest in the potentially rich palm oil district had been amply manifested in their purchase of that area from the Danes. However, the Government's injudicious farming of the fine to the agent of the largest British Mercantile Firm on the Gold Coast meant that the firm would have been able to corner the palm oil market in the richest oil producing district in the country. The Krobo fine episode like other events of the period of 1850-1862 should be viewed and placed in perspective by looking at the trading background.

111. See Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 207; Metcalfe, Maclean, 198-200. Neither Wolfson nor Kimble who have extensively covered the fine of 1858 and its consequence mention the earlier episode in 1836 in connection with the similar event some eighteen years later. See, also Chapter III.

Principal Exports from the Gold Coast 1850-1862¹¹²

Year	Gold oz.	Gold L	Ivory tons	Ivory L	Palm oil tons	Palm oil L	Gum L	Monkey skins L	Guinea grains L	Ground- nuts L
1850	40,670	146,412	20	-	3,035	45,185	-	1,900	-	500
1851	46,000	175,600	13	-	1,464	39,500	1,900	-	-	-
1852	-	129,588	4	-	900	23,400	312	-	-	-
1853	10,000	36,000	142	-	1,750	70,000	3,000	-	-	-
1854	22,834	82,202	48	2,000	2,400	115,000	800	-	-	-
1855	-	33,104	-	1,000	-	80,000	1,721	-	700	2,068
1856	-	59,360	-	1,984	-	54,471	390	-	922	2,420
1857	-	68,913	-	1,538	-	50,402	1,250	-	174	38
1858	24,044	96,139	-	1,952	5,612	55,388	426	-	144	349
1859	20,427	73,544	-	2,941	1,125	38,346	991	-	35	-
1860	19,783	71,219	-	2,795	831	26,604	1,642	-	-	-
1861	24,772	84,358	-	1,032	-	52,398	2,342	-	-	-
1862	-	7,758	-	1,330	-	85,910	2,699	-	-	-

Given Total Exports from the Gold Coast 1850-1862 in Ls:

1850	200,707	1857	124,394
1851	219,050	1858	154,136
1852	159,250	1859	118,563
1853	115,000	1860	110,457
1854	200,002	1861	145,819
1855	140,697	1862	102,086
1856	120,999		

112. Blue Books 1850-1862 and C.O.442/10-42; 1850-1862.

The fluctuations in the trade (see table), while bearing in mind normal vacillations in demand, may be explained partially by events on the Gold Coast. By late 1854 it was clear from Gold Coast correspondence that the Asante invasion of 1853-1854 and the unsettled state of the eastern region following the disturbances and bombardment of the area was beginning to affect trade as was confirmed by the trade figures. In November, 1854, barely two months after the bombardment, some James Town merchants, including James Bannerman and J. E. Richter, wrote to Governor Hill to put down rebellion in the region as it was beginning to influence trade.

They wrote:

We, representing the mercantile interests of Accra, beg leave most respectfully to approach Your Excellency for the purpose of making known to you how severely we have suffered from the late disturbances. For several weeks past, trade has been entirely stopped in consequence of these troubles which are entirely and solely attributable to the violent spirit of Rebellion which has broken out in the Towns of Christiansborg, Tashee and Labaddy. . . We earnestly entreat that this spirit of Rebellion which has so long been troubling the country, to the grevous detriment of commerce, civilization and the general in errests of the settlements, for business of all kind is entirely stopped. 113

113. C.O.96/31: John Marman, Charles Bannerman, Richter, etc. to Hill, 1 November 1854.

Some months later, these same groups of merchants who claimed "a large pecuniary interest in the tranquility and peace of the country" protested against attempts being made to collect the poll tax. They were convinced that it would "be resisted by the people and much bloodshed and destruction of property ensue."¹¹⁴

In Cape Coast, merchants who feared what had taken place in the eastern region might be repeated, called a meeting to protest against any force being used to collect the tax.¹¹⁵ In September, 1855 when the spirit of resistance reached a peak, the merchants were not without concern for their trade interests. Hutchinson, a leading Cape Coast merchant, deplored the government's "ignoring of commercial interests and commercial men" in dealing with the tax question. The influence of the government was declining according to him because of "the mercantile community not having been treated in a manner consistent with their position and the stake they have in the country and the rights of the people

114. C.O.96/33: James Town Merchants to Governor, 8 May 1855.

115. C.O.96/33: Cooper to Russell, 8 May 1855.

having been trampled upon." He saw the state of the political and commercial affairs of the country verging on a crisis unless the government changed its policy and believed that it was "impossible for those sustaining heavy commercial responsibilities in this country and otherwise interested in its social progress and prosperity to look quietly on and calmly survey the progress of a policy which threatens with the most destructive and fatal results."¹¹⁶

Another merchant, George Blankson, in his protest about the tax was emphatic about the role the merchants should play in the affairs of the Gold Coast. An important aid which he considered would greatly promote the welfare and prosperity and peace of the country was "that if on all occasions the representatives of H. M. Government consulted on public matters with the respectable merchants both Natives and Europeans whom I have no doubt would be very happy to advise for the peace and welfare of the country the state of affairs might wear a better aspect than at present."¹¹⁷

116. C.O.96/34: R. Hutchinson to Sir William Molesworth, 10 September 1855.

117. C.O.96/37: G. Blankson to Russell, 15 May 1855.

If the African merchants were concerned about the poll tax and the disturbances that followed, it was because they were interested in protecting their own trade concerns as well as in the welfare of their country.

The raising of the ad valorem duties on exports from $\frac{1}{2}\%$ to 2% in 1855 was resisted by the traders on the Gold Coast because they feared that it would drive trade away from the English settlements. Two African merchants protested:

In 1829, an ad valorem duty of half per cent was levied upon Goods imported into the settlements, which has remained since; the local government, for the interest of trade, deeming it unsafe to increase it, because it would have a tendency to drive the trade from our own Market into that of our neighbors the Dutch, who being under no such restrictions could afford to sell cheaper to the Ashantees, with whom neither time nor distance is an object, so long as they can have access to a cheap market. 118

It would seem that it was not simply the increased duty about which the merchants objected but the customs ordinance of which the duties formed a part. Andrew Swanzy showed his dissatisfaction with the measure when

118. C.O.96/34: Henry Barnes and Joseph Smith to Connor, 30 August 1855.

he described it:

The details of this customs ordinance clearly proved that the utter absence of commercial knowledge in those who framed it. The value for duty on all imports was held to be the cost price at place of shipment, say for instance in England, with ten per cent, added for freight charges, etc., and it was competent to the customs officers, when not satisfied with the value as declared by the importer, to pay him 10 per cent on the value declared and sell the goods on account of the Government; and whereas the freight in a large proportion of articles shipped to the coast exceeds 20 per cent on their value, and in some instances 100 per cent, it follows that the importer of such goods is liable to have them seized for deficiency in valuation, and to be paid very much less than their actual cost, and this although he strictly complied with the rules laid down. 119

A further problem that concerned merchants about the customs ordinance was the question of using Cape Coast as a depot and being able to re-ship goods to settlements beyond British jurisdiction without paying duties. A merchant observed:

For years¹²⁰ merchants trading beyond the settlements, as well as within them, were prevented from landing goods in bond at the British ports, and were not even allowed to tranship goods from one vessel to another in British waters; this was,

119. A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection", 479.

120. The years referred to are 1857-1866.

of course, done with the view of extorting the duties on goods intended for sale beyond the Protectorate. The consequence was that my firm, among others, were prevented from shipping such goods by steamers, and the utility of Cape Coast, as a depot, was destroyed. 121

Although this rule was changed and merchants importing a certain amount of goods were allowed to enter them in bond, small traders were deprived of that privilege. Nonetheless even when, in 1866, British ports on the Gold Coast were opened as a receptacle for bonded goods, the imports had to be re-shipped within a short period of time.¹²² Although it is true that trade between 1855 and 1861 declined slightly after the customs duties were imposed in 1855, the trade returns indicate that they by no means had a disastrous effect upon commerce in the area under the British.

During this period gold and ivory, the old staples of the country, continued to remain important but the latter product was showing a remarkable decline as is evident from the table.

121. Ibid.

122. Ibid.

To judge from the trade figures, 1850 and 1851 were about the peak years for the gold trade until after the 1880's. The average that gold export had achieved in the mid 1830's was maintained very well until it dropped perceptibly in 1862 when it registered a decline from L84,358 to L7,758. There was a fall in the gold exports from L129,588 to L36,000 in 1853 but this can be explained by the conflict with Asante, when the question of the independence of Assin precipitated an Asante invasion of the British Protectorate. Despite the fluctuations in trade and the gold exports it is evident that from 1850 to 1862 gold was the most constant and reliable item of export. Ivory, by contrast with gold, had fallen off very notably from the 1830's and 1840's. The apparent explanation being that the Gold Coast has never been a major exporter of ivory and that her sources for ivory were probably becoming exhausted.¹²³

The former place that ivory held as a staple export of the Gold Coast was replaced by palm oil. The palm

123. Daaku, Trade and Politics, 28.

oil export on the Gold Coast remained steady during this period in spite of occasional fluctuations in response to natural, internal and external factors. The yield of the palm crop depended upon adequate rainfall; the palm oil industry itself relied upon peace and tranquillity in the areas of production, and the sale of the oil to a large degree was contingent upon external demand.

The figures of export for 1850 reflect a steady growth of palm oil export from the 1830's and 1840's. However, between 1850 and 1853 the exports dropped somewhat. It is probable that the price of cowries which were valued at 4s 2d a head in 1850 stimulated the export of the crop, their apparent decline to 2s 9d - 3s in 1853 might have affected the production of the palm oil for 1851 and 1852. Palm oil exports rose to a new height in 1853, in the same year that gold exports reached an unusually low point in the wake of the Asante conflicts, and for the first time overtook gold as the leading staple export. The palm oil exports continued to increase in 1854 and dropped a little in

1855. The rise no doubt was in response to the recovery of the cowrie currency which had risen from 2s 9d a head to 3s in 1853 and 3s 4d by 1855, and the higher prices for oil stimulated by the Crimean War, 1854-1855, with the consequent cutting off of the tallow supply from Russia.¹²⁴

In 1855 a British official on the Gold Coast expressed concern over the export of palm oil after the war with Russia was terminated:

I should hope that the stimulus given to this trade by the War with Russia introducing as it necessarily must, a much extended occupation in production, will be followed by persons once so occupied continuing producers of the oil when the price shall have fallen -- There may however be the contrary effect for a time that the producers having received a higher price will refuse a lower (one) and will not sell at all. 125

In 1856 there was another drop in the palm oil trade but it was not until 1859 and 1860 that there were drastic declines which may be corroborated by the trade figures and other evidence. Speaking before the

124. C.O.96/31: Connor to Russell, 16 July 1855.

125. Ibid.

Parliamentary Committee of 1865; Andrew Swanzy testified that the Krobo fine of 1858 led to a decline in the oil trade in 1858 and 1859. Obviously Swanzy, who was speaking from memory, made a mistake in referring to 1858 as the beginning of the decline -- the dates in question were 1859-1860.¹²⁶ The Governor of the settlements also reported in 1861 that "In the Eastern districts a considerable Trade for many years has been carried on in Palm Oil, but during the past year it has suffered materially on account of the unfortunate disturbances that took place in 1858, which resulted in having recourse to military operations against the chiefs."¹²⁷ Although the oil trade recovered in 1861 and further increased in 1862, attempts to collect the Krobo fine and disputes in the eastern region after 1863 were going to affect the export of the crop. The effect of the Krobo fine on the palm oil export of the Gold Coast does not imply that the Krobos were the only producers. Akuapem,

126. Parl. Papers 1865; Evidence of A. Swanzy, Q's. 4682 and 4683.

127. C.O.96/52: Andrews to NewCastle, 13 June 1861.

the Winneba and Saltpond area also exported some palm oil.¹²⁸

Another palm product was the palm kernel. Until 1855 when the first export of palm kernels was made, they had been thrown away after extracting the palm oil from the pericarp because they were regarded as useless. Despite the exports of L11 of palm kernel in 1855 it was not until after 1868 that the trade began to flourish.

Gum copal, used in making varnish, also became important on the Gold Coast in the 1850's. It is likely the small quantities had been exported from the Gold Coast before the 1850's but they were probably not large enough to figure prominently in the export figures. By 1851, even though the exports were low, they were respectable. Price fluctuations, however, made its export irregular and furthermore because of its poor quality, it could not compete with gum from other areas.^{129.}

128. Dickson, Historical Geography, 144.

129. Horton, West African Countries and Peoples, 133.

An export trade also developed in monkey skins in the 1850's. First commenced by William Bruce of James Town, Accra, handsome profits were reaped from shipments of monkey skins to England. The skins sold very cheaply at first, but later their prices increased. In 1856, for example, twenty to twenty-five skins sold for 4s 6d, however they were selling for one shilling a piece by 1859. Prices rose further in 1860 by which time the price of good skins was no less than 4s 6d on the Gold Coast.¹³⁰

The skins were obtained from black monkeys in the eastern region, especially in Akyem and Krobo where the monkeys were hunted during the rainy season between May and August. During the dry season they were difficult to kill because they hovered over the tops of lofty trees, but in the rainy season they descended and took cover under trees and bushes.¹³¹ Andrew Swanzy has left

130. Horton, West African Countries and Peoples, 132-3.

131. Ibid., 132-3.

a description of his part in this trade, written in 1874:

Some 15 years ago I imported 600 or 700 black monkey skins, and sent them to Messrs. Bevington and Morris, to ascertain if they could be made useful; they remained in their hands for many months, and most of them were made into rugs, which I presented to various friends, but a few of the best were reserved and made into muffs, which at first met with no sale, but after a time became fashionable, and finally the price for each good skin rose as high as 12s 6d; they have since fallen, and now vary from 3s 6d to 1s 6d. each.¹³²

Other products featured in the economy which were intermittently exported were guinea grains, groundnuts, and rubber.¹³³ Although not consistently recorded, coffee became export assumed some importance in the 1860's.¹³⁴

There are no recorded figures for rubber, but its export was definitely becoming important as evidenced by Horton's report that rubber "was in great request and remunerative." It was obtained from Indian rubber and gutta-percha trees, and before becoming an export commodity it was used to repair earthenware pots.

132. A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 483.

133. C.O.442/10-42, 1850-1876; Blue Books 1855-59.

134. Dickson, Historical Geography, 157.

The export of rubber was begun by the commercial firm of the Bremen Missionaries. Although the trade in rubber was profitable, Horton expressed alarm at the extravagant and destructive methods used in collecting the rubber. He said that they cut down the tree, burned one end, and allowed the gum to exude from the other, thereby destroying the tree.¹³⁵ Significantly it was the destructive methods used in tapping rubber that ruined it at the time of its peak prosperity during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

A close look at the imports into the Gold Coast reveal that all the consumer goods, and most items on the list represented ephemeral luxury consumption and consisted primarily of Manchester goods, spirits, and wine, beads, hardware, provision, earthenware, tobacco, and haberdashry. (See table and Appendix) The regular imports of these items indicated the extent to which foreign goods were playing a role in the local economy and how the people were beginning to depend upon them.

135. Horton, West African Countries and Peoples, 135.

Principal Imports into the Gold Coast Given Total Imports into the Gold Coast 136

Year	Manchester Goods in Ls	Beads L	Spirits & Wines in Ls	Year	L
1850	40,960	5,060	7,142	1850	88,656
1851	28,360	5,325	15,060	1851	84,880
1852	14,000	4,880	17,000	1852	71,635
1853	16,000	3,220	16,580	1853	60,000
1854	38,000	6,600	21,200	1854	107,200
1855	68,187	4,033	11,330	1855	149,587
1856	30,837	6,179	37,491	1856	105,634
1857	36,838	2,083	13,011	1857	118,270
1858	42,050	2,563	29,924	1858	122,457
1859	43,060	2,910	23,704	1859	114,596
1860	35,089	1,497	3,156	1860	112,454
1861	74,628	1,006	39,991	1861	162,971
1862	68,000	-	40,773	1862	145,100

136. C.O.442/10-42; Blue Books 1850-1862. The figures of total imports given in the official records are at best very rough estimates because the itemized individual imports between 1850 and 1856 exceed the official totals.

The importance of Manchester goods on Gold Coast trade can be seen from the volume of import to the Gold Coast. On the import of Manchester goods, Andrew Swanzy has written:

About sixty per cent¹³⁷ of our shipments to the Coast consist of cotton manufactures, chiefly of Manchester make, but including some few fabrics from Switzerland and Belgium, of finer colour and quality; and you will observe how singularly the names still used in the trade remind us of the time when India supplied a large proportion of our cotton manufacture samples. I believe I may say that my firm clothes the inhabitants of a district as large as England, but, of course, that district is thinly populated and the people more thinly clad; indeed, in most parts, the children of both sexes, up to the age of seven or eight, dispense with any covering than that of a slight coating of tallow to prevent their skins from cracking in the sun.¹³⁸

The import figures of Manchester goods which ranged from L14,000 to L74,000 a year, show a very irregular and slow increase and indeed no increase at all for some years, and seem to point to the conclusion that commercial progress was very slow and hard-won in this whole period. The import of beads which had always been a regular feature of Gold

137. From the trade figures available, this estimate of cotton manufactures is an exaggeration.

138. A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 482.

Coast trade was also maintained. Writing in 1874, again Andrew Swanzy emphasized the importance of the bead trade:

All the women of West Africa wear girdles round the waist, generally consisting of two or three strings of beads, in fact a row of beads constitutes the first approach to dress on the part of the female children; moreover, beads are much sought after as ornaments for the wrists and neck, and therefore we ship to the coast great quantities of beads. 139

The importance of the import trade in spirits and wines can be seen from the trade figures. After Manchester goods, spirits and wines formed the second largest import to the Gold Coast. In relation to the total imports of goods to the Gold Coast, spirit imports were unusually large and resulted in protests from some quarters. A participant in the Gold Coast trade observed:

A large number of sincere and sensible men have protested against the trade in spirits with uncivilised people, some of them considering that trade not merely objectionable, but criminal. But after all the consumption of alcoholic liquids by the natives of Western Africa is not by any means large in proportion to their numbers.

139. A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 482.

With the exception of a little palm wine. . .The few cases of drunkenness which I witnessed on the Coast arose from excessive indulgence in palm wine, and indeed, the quantity of spirit taken at one time is very small. 140

Andrew Swanzy commented upon other articles of import into the Gold Coast when he noted: "Cutlery and hardware form a considerable item in our trade, and include knives of every shape and size, matchetes or cutlasses, brass pans, pewter basins, etc. comon earthenware helps, when needful, to fill our ships; and, as a proof of advancement in the comfort of the natives, I may say we ship large quantities of chairs and occasionally other articles of furniture."¹⁴¹ This need for a completely loaded ship may partially explain the varying quantities of these items.

The progress of trade during this period was slow and any gains made by African merchants were hard-won. By the end of 1862, however, serious conflicts were about to break out on the Gold Coast which would adversely affect commercial operations for almost a decade. This and the prevailing system of credit would bring the age of the African merchants to a temporary halt.

140. Ibid., 483.

141. Ibid.

CHAPTER V

CONFLICTS AND PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT, 1863-1874

There had been no spectacular growth in the import and export figures of the Gold Coast between 1850 and 1862, but the trade returns had been more or less steady. During this time palm oil had joined gold dust and replaced ivory as the major staple export of the country. Up until the 1850's efforts to stimulate cotton growth and cotton export from the Gold Coast had met with little success; however, in the wake of the sectional conflict with the possibility of a civil war the stoppage of one of the world's major sources of cotton led to renewed efforts of the cultivation of cotton on the Gold Coast.¹

Early in 1850 samples of cotton grown on the Gold Coast were sent to England where Manchester manufacturers found its quality to be good and gave encouragement to its cultivation; but the problem of labour which had dogged cultivation attempts on the Gold Coast since the abolition of the slave trade had not yet been solved. The Governor of the settlement expressed anxiety about

¹Even as early as 1848, in anticipation of increased demand for cotton, inquiries were made in Britain of the possible extensions of cotton growing within overseas territories under Great Britain. There were even suggestions that the unemployed in England should be sent to Natal and Australia to grow cotton. Knowles, The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire, I, 131.

the question of labour for the cultivation of the crop:

The most important consideration which now demands our attention, is whether the natives can be induced to give their labour continually at a price, which would enable the African planter to compete successfully with the American. . .Hitherto it has been with the greatest difficulty, that labourers have been coaxed to continue at field-work for any consecutive length of time and there is scarcely an instance of a person volunteering his services, even for a short period, who has not been forced to do so from the necessity of discharging some pressing debt.²

He felt that the labour of domestic slaves and pawns could possibly be made available for the cultivation.

In 1850 a group of British merchants and manufacturers closely associated with the Gold Coast trade who saw "the yearly increasing necessity and the great importance of procuring cotton from other sources than the United States" formed an association to establish cotton plantations in the country. The members of the association which included M. Forster, W. Hutton, F. Swanzy and Cruickshank argued that cotton could be made a primary export of the Gold Coast like palm oil.³

²C.O.96/18: Winniett to Grey, 22 May 1850.

³C.O.96/21: F. Swanzy to Grey, 30 July 1850. The following subscriptions were also made towards the project:

M. Forster	L250
J. S. Turner	L100
W. Hutton	L100
R. and W. King	L100
W. B. Sewell	L 25
B. Cruickshank	L100
F. Swanzy	L100

The association placed the cotton plantation project under the superintendence of a man from the southern United States; a large tract of land near Cape Coast was cleared and a cotton plantation was commenced. Even though sufficient labour had been procured to clear the land for cotton cultivation, no steady labourers were found for the plantation and not a bag of cotton was exported. When the plantation was abandoned by the original proprietors, Thomas Hutton took possession of it but failed to make it a going concern.⁴

In his report to accompany the Blue Books for 1852, Governor Hill referred to the attempts made by the merchants. He remarked that the "attempts which have been made during the past eighteen months or two years, successively to cultivate cotton as an article of commerce, have without exception failed; and that these failures preclude any reasonable hopes of future success."⁵ Despite the Governor's dim outlook on the future of cotton, there was no want of attempts to grow cotton. The Methodist plantation, Beulah, near Cape Coast, for example, continued in

⁴A. Swanzy, "Civilization and Progress on the Gold Coast of Africa, As Affected by European Contact with the Native Inhabitants", J.S.A. XXIII, 1 (1875), 422.

⁵C.O.96/27: 1853, Hill's Report to Accompany Blue Books for 1852.

its plantation efforts. By 1851 it had ten agricultural apprentices, who studied at the School for half a year and worked the plantation the other half. Besides these ten there were also two groups of seven students between the ages of 6 and 10 and 12 and 15 who worked the plantation from 6:00 to 10:00 A.M. and attended the school from 2:00 P.M. until 5:00 P.M.⁶ Even with this organization Beulah, too, eventually failed because of a lack of labour and financial support. ?

Another group that promoted cotton growing was the Gold Coast Agricultural Society, founded in 1857, with the Governor of the settlement as its patron and president, and primarily interested in the cultivation of cotton by indigenous people. In promoting the growth of cotton, the agricultural association reasoned that no objection could be raised about the novelty of cotton culture to the people; there was no likelihood of the market for cotton becoming overstocked and it did not require much labour and expense there once it had been planted.⁷

⁶C.O.96/28: Governor Hill's Report to Accompany the Blue Books for 1851.

⁷C.O.96/43: Minutes of the Agricultural Society, 22 July 1858.

To accomplish its objectives, the society asked the Governor to supply them with capital with which to work.⁸ For this purpose the Governor was persuaded to write to the Cotton Supply Association of Manchester to request assistance and to call upon merchants with vested interests on the Gold Coast to help with subscriptions.⁹ The Association proposed that in order to develop the crop the local government should appoint a commission of people interested in the promotion of cotton with L500 to L1,000 at their disposal for the purpose of giving trial to their scheme, with half of this sum to be raised by the government and half by the society. The funds were to be used in purchasing cotton from the indigenous growers at a fixed price, with the cotton so purchased to be shipped to England for sale from which the proceeds would be applied to the liquidation of the original capital. It was felt that as soon as this plan had been sufficiently demonstrated to the local growers cotton could be made a valuable export and the scheme could be abandoned

⁸C.O.96/44: Agricultural Society to Bird, 26 July 1858.

⁹C.O.96/44: Bird to Lytton, 5 August 1858.

with a normal trade in cotton.¹⁰ To help the Agricultural Society achieve its aim, the Gold Coast Legislative Council voted L200 out of the poll tax to support the project.¹¹ However, the local government was forbidden to go ahead with the grant.¹²

While trying to encourage the cultivation of cotton, a Cape Coast paper, the West African Herald, urged the Agricultural Society positively to refrain from planting any American or foreign seeds as they always resulted in failure because of frequent destruction by insects and pests. Indigenous cotton seeds were to be encouraged because they were hardy, flourished in any soil, and yielded abundantly.¹³

In 1860 another association was established "for the ultimate extinction of slavery on the Gold Coast of Africa by the introduction of agriculture and chiefly in the cultivation of that important staple, cotton."¹⁴

¹⁰Ibid., letter of the Cotton Supply Association, 30 July 1858.

¹¹Ibid., Governor Bird to E. Bulmer Lytton, 5 August 1858.

¹²Ibid., letter of J. Emerson Tennent, Committee of the Privy Council for Trade, 14 September 1858.

¹³West African Herald, 1 March 1860, quoted in Elijah Helm, "The Cultivation of Cotton in West Africa", J.A.S., II (1902-1903), 7.

¹⁴G.N.A. SC/3/3: 29 March 1860, "A Proposition to form an association to aid the abolition of slavery in the Gold Coast by means of colonization and establishing the growth of cotton."

There is not enough information on this organization, but the interest in cotton growing on the Gold Coast at this time was apparent with the Gold Coast supply during the 1860's, though small, the result of this interest and effort.

During the "cotton famine" at the time of the American Civil War appreciable quantities of cotton were exported from the Gold Coast. Despite vigorous efforts to cultivate the crop in the western and eastern districts of the country, the centre of cotton cultivation was situated in Krepi on the banks of the Volta. When the trade in cotton became important, merchants¹⁵ moved into the cotton growing area of Krepi with their cotton-gins to establish factories.¹⁶

Among the trading interests that became involved in cotton in the Volta district was the Basel Mission Trading Company, now the Union Trading Company of Ghana (U.T.C.), which had been officially founded in 1859.¹⁷

¹⁵Among them were the Agents of the Basel Mission. The African merchants involved who often wrote to the African Times used fictitious names, but it is likely that most of them were traders from Accra.

¹⁶Horton, West African Countries and Peoples, 132-3.

¹⁷For the complete history of this organization, see Von Gustaf Adolf Wanner, Basler Handels Gesellschaft 1859-1959 (Basel, 1959). This definitive history was published on the centenary of the company for private circulation and was not available for sale.

When the missionaries first came to the Gold Coast they had no intention whatsoever of engaging in trade, but they found out later that it was difficult for missionaries to obtain the necessities of their life with many of these items obtainable only from Europe. To meet this need the missionaries seriously started to have dealings in trade in 1854. They found out that the task of securing supplies consumed considerable amounts of time, and felt it necessary to establish a trading company. In 1854 H. L. Rottmann arrived at Christiansborg to open a shop. Three years later the Mission invested 60,000 francs in the shop. Rottman was urged to find good customers, to train African helpers, not to be overly profit-minded, but to aim to make the shop "an oasis in the desert of paganism."¹⁸

By 1858 some Basel Missionaries on the Gold Coast were becoming uneasy about investing Mission money in trade; they felt such an investment was a risk and that a special fund should be set up specifically for commercial purposes. When a gift of 70,000 francs was donated in the same year to the trade company, the book-

✓ - ¹⁸Ibid., 27-30; Reindorf, History of the Gold Coast, 2nd ed., 220-1.

keeping for the Mission and the trade was separated. The Mission strictly supervised the trading activities and in January, 1859, the authorities at Basel converted it into a trading company under the charge of a committee of three.¹⁹ This trading union was: "to be subject to the Basel Mission Committee at Basel; to supply all mission stations; to provide raw material for mission workshops at low prices; to introduce pagans to Christian industry and trade and to improve them morally; to raise funds for the running of the mission house; to help the mission to be financially independent or to prepare the way to such a status and to ensure that the trading should not disturb the peace and harmony of mission work."²⁰

Rottman, in charge of the Mission's commercial activities, also wanted to keep sale prices low. In order to accomplish this he had to order in large quantities and, in this way, the shop grew. By 1860, local traders were coming to order goods from the Basel Mission Trading Company and paying for them in African produce.²¹ This business brought great profit which became a substantial support of the mission work. It has even been

¹⁹Wanner, Basler Handels Gesellschaft, 30-32.

²⁰Ibid., 70-72.

²¹Ibid., 51-52.

asserted that the work of the Basel Mission could not have expanded as fast as it did if it had not been for the financial support it received from the Trading Company.²²

The Basel Trading Company, unlike other European trading establishments of the time, penetrated the interior and established factories in direct competition with indigenous merchants and middlemen. It is indicative of their deep concern with trade that the Africans were quick to protest against the activities and competition of the Trading Company in the interior:

. . .they are doing no material good in point of trade, but harm. Since they established themselves here as merchants they have been imitators and not innovators; they have not conferred any boon on the public by introducing any industrial development of fresh resources here. They have not lent their energy by adding to the natural wealth of this country. There is not now one educated native buying palm oil in this place. With their large means they undersell everyone here, and by that means have wrested the trade from our hands. We go to Kpong, they follow us there; we go to Addah, they come there; we go to the far interior (Krepee), they come there. (B) was in Krepee in '60, '61, '62, '63, buying cotton for their benefit; they were not satisfied till they went there and established factories in opposition to him. With them "Live and let live" is not the motto. They get their goods first hand from Germany and go far to

²²Ibid., 78.

the interior. Of course they will not take lead in anything; they go for all the profit without any inter-medium, for they want all the profit for themselves. Even the latest (palm-nut kernel) trade they have taken from our hands. We must not live at all.²³

This complaint in a letter to the African Times was simply signed "An Old Accra."²⁴ Although his strictures about the Basel Mission harming trade were unjustified, the fear and resentment of the protest were real.

Another letter simply signed "African" also complained:

. . . You must always bear in mind, as I know you do, that none of these people, the German missionaries and their commercial managers, have any permanent interests in these countries. They have the interest of the people at heart no doubt, in a religious point of view; but beyond that they would sell or dispose of the country in any way that seems best to suit their present interest.²⁵

Similar complaints were to be lodged against European firms as they penetrated the interior in larger numbers at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the long term cotton growing on the Gold Coast on a commercial scale failed.

²³African Times, 22 August 1868, "An Old Accra", 22.

²⁴This "Old Accra" was probably one of the African merchants at Accra who were beginning to feel the effects of competition from a European organization with substantial capital.

²⁵African Times, 23 March 1868, Letter signed "African", 129.

Whatever prosperity the country had known up to 1862 was brought to an end by the Asante invasion of 1863-1864 which had been provoked partly by the refusal of Governor Richard Pine to deliver to the Asantehene two fugitives. The invasion did not only affect trade, but Governor Pine's mismanaged campaign was to cause much recrimination.

That trade was affected by the Asante invasion is amply demonstrated by the perceptible drop in the trade figures in 1863. In 1862 the total imports into the Gold Coast had been L145,100 and the exports from the country had been L102,086, but in 1863 the imports and exports stood at L76,955 and L53,764, respectively. Horton reported after the Asante invasion that "trade was stopped, and several of the merchants became bankrupt, and others in a state next to it."²⁶ Among the merchants who became bankrupt was Samuel Collins Brew.²⁷

The plight of Gold Coast merchants and the condition of trade were further worsened by tactics adopted by the

²⁶Horton, Letters, 74.

²⁷^ePriestly, West African Trade and Coast Society, 143-57.

contractors of the Krobo fine. By 1861 the people of Krobo had only paid a fraction of the fine imposed upon them, and attempts to use soldiers to extract oil from them by force on their way to the coastal markets led them to send oil to ports east of the Volta. The Governor wrote in 1862 that "the people will not now bring oil down to the coast on account of its being seized, but take it to Kpong, a place on the banks of the Volta, where they find a ready market and some 50 miles away from our nearest military stations."²⁸ As the seizures began to influence trade in the eastern region, the merchants in that area appealed to the Governor:

Since the arrangement entered in the latter end of 1858 between the government and certain gentlemen who contracted to pay for the Krobboes. . . (the fine imposed upon them). . . The legitimate palm oil trade has been seriously impaired, the Krobboes for the last two years having held the monopoly of that article of commerce and consequently maintained their own prices. Oil being at this time 100% dearer than it was 1858 that the sale of merchandise in general and beads in particular is materially lessened L1,800 worth of the latter article which was in stock at Accra at the breaking out of the Krobo disturbances having now become dead stock.²⁹

²⁸C.O.96/57: Governor to Duke of Newcastle, 13 February 1862.

²⁹C.O.96/59: Merchants, Agents and Traders of Accra to Governor, 1 May 1863.

Since the disturbances were disrupting trade, the people involved in the palm oil trade wanted the Government to do something about the fine. Consequently, in 1863, the Governor came to new terms with the contractors who agreed to forego all their claims to Krobo oil and the Krobos were asked to pay L7,750 in cowrie shells. They promptly paid half of it and promised to pay the rest. When the remainder of the fine was not forthcoming two of the contractors, the agents of F. and A. Swanzy and Forster and Smith, used private troops to seize oil from Krobo and stopped goods going up to Krobo country. This action again interfered with trade, and predictably merchants, traders, and chiefs at Accra called attention to the ruinous state of trade in the eastern region:

The trade from Croboe and its neighbourhood is now entirely stopped by a system of seizure of all oil coming to the coast from that district which has been established by Mr. Cuthbert who is acting in Pong for the contractors of the fine. . . In some instances actual seizures of oil have been made in Shai district, the inhabitants of which have no connection with the Croboe fine and to the further ruin of trade the men under orders of Mr. Cuthbert have stationed themselves in bodies of from 8-12 in various localities favourable for the interception of traders returning from Accra and Pram Pram to Pong, Crepee, etc. and forcibly seizing and appropriating to themselves certain portions of the goods. The trade of the Volta districts prior to the so called blockade being established was enormous.

That passing to Addah having come principally from Pong and other places in its neighbourhood now under the blockade system, no business can now be transacted there unless that system which we may almost say has been reduced to the level of native "panyarring" is abolished.³⁰

The local British government on the Gold Coast was finally pressed in 1865 to terminate the agreement that had led to the boycott by paying the two large contractors L3,500 in a final settlement. Although the dispute was brought to a conclusion in 1865, it had evoked a crisis that was going to affect the commercial life of the eastern region for a few years at least. The attempt of F. and A. Swanzy and Forster and Smith to corner the palm oil market met with the resentment of other merchants, but the disorganization of trade resulting from the attempt to collect the fine, as is evidenced by the quotation above, aroused the indignation of not only the merchants, but also the residents and chiefs of the eastern region. For the Krobo peoples themselves, the effective long boycott and hold up of palm oil showed that economically they were quite sophisticated and at the same time not dependent on European trade which they were prepared to

³⁰C.O.96/68: Petition from Accra Merchants, Traders, Residents, and Chiefs in Conran to Doorly, 2 October 1865.

forego for years on end if need be.

The diversion of Krobo palm oil trade from the Accra-Prampram area to the Volta basin had begun at a time when the people of this latter area were disengaging themselves from the slave trade to interest themselves in the palm oil trade. The peoples of the lower Volta had had long-established trade links with the interior,³¹ and 18th century accounts give a vivid impression of economic activities in the region. The Adas who looked down on agricultural activities and left such occupations to their neighbours engaged in salt mining and fishing and sold the products to the people inland.³² Salt from Ada reached Asante.³³ According to Linds, who sailed up the river, Dodi was an important salt market from whence salt reached Kwahu, Asante and the far interior.³⁴ This information is in agreement with that supplied by Col. Starerrenbury, a Dutchman who went on a mission up

³¹Grove and Johansen, "The Historical Geography of the Volta Delta, Ghana, during the Period of Danish Influence," 1373.

³²Ibid., 1385.

³³Ibid., 1386.

³⁴Ibid., G.J. 264, 1829.

the Volta in 1817.³⁵ By the middle of the nineteenth century the trade in salt up the Volta River was still important.³⁶

Besides salt the Volta basin was notorious for the slave trade and despite abolition the trade was carried on with vigour in that region until the 1860's. Most of the important towns of the area like Atoko, Keta, Blekusu, and Adina on the coast served as slave markets until the 1860's.³⁷

Of the slave dealers of the area, two stand out, namely, Goncalves Baeta and Cosar Cequeira Geraldo de Lima. These men belonged to the long line of Brazilians who had established slave bases on the coast during the first half of the nineteenth century.³⁸ In March, 1850, when Governor Winniet visited the Danish possessions, he met Baeta at Atoko and at that time the slave trader

³⁵A.V.M.K. 4033, 1817, (F.C.).

³⁶Johnson, "Migrants' Progress", 22.

³⁷Amenumey, "Geraldo de Lima: a Reappraisal," 66.

³⁸Ibid., 65.

expressed a desire to carry legal trade in the form of palm oil under the British flag.³⁹ It is possible that in addition to his slave trading activities Baeta carried on some commerce in palm oil after 1850.

Geraldo de Lima established himself as a slave dealer in his own right after serving an apprenticeship with Goncalves Baeta.⁴⁰ De Lima built a factory at Vodza from where he shipped his slaves until his death in 1862. Upon de Lima's death, his business was taken over by Adzoviehlo Atiogbe, who had been de Lima's servant, from the early 1850's. Atiogbe assumed his master's name in order to facilitate his business dealings in slaves, but by 1864 he had given up the slave trade to engage in ~~the~~ palm oil trading.⁴¹ Once in the palm oil trade he began to corner a sizable amount of it and carried on a flourishing trade in cotton goods, firearms and liquor in Kpong, the palm oil emporium, and in other towns along the Volta. De Lima's commercial activities

³⁹C.O.96/18: Winniet to Grey, 30 March 1850.

⁴⁰Amenumey, "Geraldo de Lima: a Reappraisal", 65-66.

⁴¹Ibid., 67. Compare with Ross, "Domingo Martinez".

successfully diverted much produce from the Accra and Prampram areas to Mafi on the Volta and on to Anlo ports.⁴² It was very likely that the reports reaching the Colonial Office and the African aid society in 1863 that there was a large scale traffic in slaves from Asante in the Volta area⁴³ and that Asante was carrying on a vigorous trade at Ada and Kita exchanging slaves for gunpowder,⁴⁴ were calculated to get the British government to blockade these ports in order to limit de Lima's trading activities.

It was the scope of de Lima's trading activities and his competition for oil with traders west of the Volta who were losing their grip on the oil trade following the Krobo fine that led to disputes which resulted in the Anlo war. As a modern scholar of Anlo history has written:

A trade competition between Lima and the European merchants based at Accra and westwards was superimposed on the inveterate Anlo-Ada commercial rivalry.

⁴²C.O.96/70: Conran to Cardwell, 10 March 1866; Amenumey, "de Lima", 67; Amenumey, "The Ewe People and the coming of European Rule, 1850-1914," (unpublished M.A. thesis, London University, 1964).

⁴³C.O.96/63: Alfred Churchill to Newcastle, 20 April 1863.

⁴⁴African Times, 23 January 1864, "O", 80.

Anlo had lately taken to acting as middlemen for the palm-oil trade. A fierce competition developed between Anlo on the one hand and Ada and Accra on the other. This rivalry was accentuated by the Krobo fine of 1858 and the tactics adopted by the Krobos in 1859-1864 to beat it.⁴⁵

The growing importance of trade and commercial competition in the Volta basin was attested to by the number of commercial firms and agents who had established themselves at the end of the Volta basin at Adafo. These firms and agents were H. L. Rottman and Company;⁴⁶ W. P. Gunnell; John Clayton; W. G. Bruce, E. W. Bruce and M. Vietor Sons of Bremen.⁴⁷ Besides these firms were other commercial agents, like the Basel Mission, and unnamed individual traders who had established agencies at Kpong and penetrated Krepi country.⁴⁸

Because of this trade rivalry, a small misunderstanding between de Lima and an Ada debtor escalated into a war in 1865-1866 on which merchants west of the Volta staked their last hope for the redirection of trade.

⁴⁵Amenumey, "Geraldo de Lima: a Reappraisal," 69.

⁴⁶This is undoubtedly H. L. Rottman representing the Basel Mission Trading Company.

⁴⁷C.O.96/67: Julino Ungar to F. W. Richards, 14 May 1865.

⁴⁸African Times, 22 August 1868, in a letter signed "An Old Accra" to the Editor of the African Times, 22.

They solicited the help of the government not only to settle the dispute between Ada and Anlo (supposedly being fomented by de Lima) but they also revealed their real motives for imploring government aid by asking that it destroy all the coastal towns of Anlo.⁴⁹

Obviously the Anlo war was a commercial quarrel in which merchants on the Gold Coast sought to involve the local government. The Governor-in-Chief of the West African settlements realized this when he wrote in 1866:

These quarrels are generally caused by the jealousy of Traders who will go into the interior to 'get behind' each other. In places where we have no British Government as at Whydah and the Bonny, produce is brought down by the natives to the shipping port, and if plundered on the way, the loss is to the natives, but at the Gold Coast, Gambia, and even here [Sierra Leone] the merchants going to the interior and expect British protection in carrying their property through a hostile country.⁵⁰

As noted also by Conran, those who brought about the disturbances on the Gold Coast were indigenous traders in their own right or representatives of European merchants houses. He wrote:

The native traders employed by the large merchants in distant and out of the way parts, cause this kind of invasion on the part of those who differ

⁴⁹Amenumey, "Geraldo de Lima: a Reappraisal", 69; C.O.96/71: Conran to Cardwell, 10 April 1866; C.O.96/67: Richards to Jones, 17 May 1865.

⁵⁰C.O.96/71: Blackall to Cardwell, 20 June 1866.

and dispute points of trade with them [which]...ends in the suspensions of commerce altogether when the government at last is expected to open it again, a rule that has been followed on this coast for many years back, which has led many petty traders to think that wherever they may establish a grog shop there also should be a detachment of soldiers to protect them.⁵¹

The Anlo War seriously affected the palm oil trade in the eastern region, but even more important is the fact that it hastened the end of the developing trade in cotton in the Volta district. On 23 March 1867 a Gold Coast correspondent reported to the African Times:

Our trade here is ruined on account of the existing Awoolah war. The enemy is assuming the offensive, and has lately killed a great many of our allies who were on their way down with the produce. This place and the interior are like what Lagos and Abeokuta were some time ago; produce shut up in the interior, and many of the merchants here becoming insolvent in consequence of this. The Government is silent now upon the subject I have machinery alone to the amount of L500 lying now idle, besides a great quantity of cotton, shut up in Krepee.⁵²

A ruined cotton merchant from James Town, Accra, wrote to the African Times in 1868 describing the situation in the cotton growing district and imploring that something be done about the conflict that had brought

⁵¹C.O.96/71: Conran to Cardwell, 10 April 1866.

⁵²African Times, 23 March 1867, "J.C.," 104.

about the state of affairs:

Can you not help us? For God's sake ring [*sic*] our troubles and most just grievances into the ears of the British Government. Here we are still, starving and bankrupt, because the Gold Coast authorities don't know how, or do not choose, to insist on that paltry little tribe of River robbers on the Volta, the Aquamoos, letting our carriers and cotton come down out of Krepee. You, Mr. Editor, ought, indeed, to fight for us in this cruel wrong; you urged enough upon us a few years ago. . . and have sent up plenty of cotton gins--and the people have entered heartily into the cultivation of cotton, and there is lots of it up there, for now 2 or 3 years shut up from us, because the Government does not choose to allow us to put down the Aguamoos, nor to insist on their leaving off to plunder and murder and kidnap our people if they attempt to bring down our cotton. The only people for whom this state of things answers is the Basel and Bremen commercial missionaries, who have mercantile agents at Quittah and Jellee Coffee, Awoonah places on the sea-coast on the other side of the Volta. The Aguamoos are the allies of the Awoonahs, and so the mission mercantile agents there get down their cotton to ship to Hamburg and Bremen, while we are not allowed to get ours to ship to Liverpool. At Awoonah they pay no duties to the British Government. . . we're overwhelmed with duties, and what not, and put under the restriction of all sorts of laws, and can't get down an ounce of cotton to take advantage of the now good prices at Liverpool, and so we are ruined--ruined. For God's sake get help of some sort for us. 53

The decline of trade that followed the Asante invasion of 1863-1864, the attempt to collect the Krobo fine and the Anlo War (1865-1866) are best told by the trade returns:

⁵³African Times, 23 July 1868, "The Ruined Accra Traders," 8.

Year	Imports	Exports ⁵⁴	L
	L		
1862	145,900	1862	102,086
1863	76,955	1863	53,764
1864	no returns	1864	no returns
1865	no returns	1865	no returns
1866	no returns	1866	no returns
1867	206,920	1867	160,291
1868	140,226	1868	148,909
1869	213,491	1869	281,913
1870	253,397	1870	378,239
1871	250,671	1871	295,207
1872	260,101	1872	285,821
1873	225,525	1873	330,624
1874	no returns	1874	no returns

The return of imports and exports clearly show the drop in trade after the Asante conflict began in 1863. No trade returns are available for the years 1864, 1865, and 1866, which were years of conflict and undoubtedly a period of decline and set-backs for trading activities. It was not until 1867 after the Anlo War had ended that trade began to recover. The pattern of trade in these years is clearly reflected in the returns of ^{gold} exports from the Gold Coast as seen in the figures below:

⁵⁴C.O.442/10-42, 1850-1872; C.O. 100/6 following; Parl. Papers 1865, Appendix, 371.

Gold Exports⁵⁵

Year	Gold, in oz.	L
1862		7,728
1863		27,009
1864		no returns
1865		no returns
1866		no returns
1867	26,784	81,791
1868	2,132*	73,495
1869	36,791	132,448
1870	36,604	131,776
1871	17,882	64,376
1872	15,456	55,644
1873		
1874	no returns	no returns

*This figure is obviously a mistake and probably should read 20,132 oz.

In the case of gold the drop had taken place in 1862 in consequence of the dispute which led to the 1863 Asante invasion. The fall in gold which came mainly from Asante can be partially explained by the fact that at the beginning of the dispute, an embargo was placed on the sale of firearms and ammunition.⁵⁶

The export of palm oil, the other major staple of the Gold Coast, as seen in the figures⁵⁷ was also affected by the conflict.

⁵⁵Blue Books 1850-1872 and C.O.442/10-42, 1850-1876.

⁵⁶Hutchinson, "The Gold Trade on the Gold Coast 1826 to 1890," (1925), 8-10.

⁵⁷Compiled from C.O.442/10-42; C.O.110/6 following; Blue Books for 1850-1876; Parl. Papers 1865,371, Ap. No.1, 14.

Palm Oil Export

Year	Tons	L
1862	- -	85,910
1863	- -	22,569
1864	- -	- -
1865	- -	- -
1866	- -	- -
1867	56	1,018
1868	2,663	57,953
1869	3,165	101,189
1870	5,161	185,710
1871	7,739	202,002
1872	- -	278,642
1873	- -	- -
1874	- -	- -

The palm oil exports fell in 1863. While the export of gold seems to have recovered by 1867, the former exports were only just beginning to recover at that date. The palm oil trade on the Gold Coast was seemingly threatened after the discovery of petroleum in Pennsylvania in 1859. Other sources of competition to palm oil were oils and fats from India and tallow from Australia which began to supplement those from Russia in the 1860's.⁵⁸ Yet another threat to the palm oil export was the decline in

⁵⁸McPhee, Economic Revolution, 30-33.

its price from the middle of the nineteenth century.⁵⁹

Despite the decline in prices the African producer did not have to sustain all the losses of low prices because of the decrease in transportation changes.

Palm kernel had first been exported in 1855 and had become important in 1868, from which time the following sizable exports were recorded:⁶⁰

Year	L
1868	7,354
1869	38,881
1870	22,035
1871	7,452
1872	5,874

The palm kernel oil came to be used in the manufacture of margarine, with the bulk of the product from West Africa going to Germany up until World War I.⁶⁰

⁵⁹McPhee, Economic Revolution, 33. The average quinquennial prices of palm oil per ton in Britain:

1856-1860	L43.6
1861-1865	L37.2
1866-1870	L38.4
1871-1875	L34.2
1876-1880	L33.0
1881-1885	L31.0
1886-1890	L20.4
1891-1895	L23.6
1896-1900	L21.0

⁶⁰C.O.442/10-42; C.O.100/6 following; Blue Books for 1850-1876; Parl. Papers 1865, 371, Ap. No. 1, 14.

⁶¹Ibid., MCPhee, Economic Revolution, 34-35.

Exports of ivory, declining since the 1850's, decreased still further with very irregular exports between 1862 and 1874. The isolated instances of recorded exports were:⁶²

Year	L
1862	1,330
1863	1,547
1871	327
1872	439

The export of gum copal, whose first export was a successful experiment in the 1850's of the Accra trader William Addo, continued but with marked fluctuations. Gum was mostly collected in Akuapem, Akyem and Wassaw.

Gum Exports⁶³

Year	L
1862	2,699
1863	850
1864	no returns
1865	no returns
1866	no returns
1867	588
1868	513
1869	642
1870	2,450
1871	4,548
1872	no returns
1873	no returns
1874	no returns

⁶²C.O.442/10-42; C.O.100/6 following; Blue Books for 1850-1876; Parl. Papers 1865, 371 Ap. No. 1, 14.

⁶³Ibid.

The export of monkey skins after a rise to importance in the 1850's also depended on its demand overseas.⁶⁴ Except for exports totaling L1,528 in 1871 and 3,221 in 1872, it was not of much importance commercially during this period.⁶⁵

Other goods of this period which were reported from time to time were variable and in the main seem to have relied upon the demand for the produce and the initiative of African merchants who had become keenly aware of new commercial opportunities. Some products featured in the economy intermittently exported were guinea grains, groundnuts, and rubber. Recorded instances of guinea grain and groundnut exports follow:⁶⁶

Guinea Grains		Groundnuts	
Year	L	Year	L
1862	no returns	1862-1870	no returns
1863	no returns	1871	2,750
1864	no returns	1872	495
1865	no returns	1873	no returns
1866	no returns	1874	no returns
1867	1,527		
1868	4,295		
1869	164		
1870	3,029		

⁶⁴See A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection."

⁶⁵C.O.442/10-42; Blue Books 1850-1872.

⁶⁶C.O.442/10-42, 1850-1876 and C.O.100/6 following.

Guinea Grains (continued)

Year	L
1871	2,166
1872	10,303
1873	no returns
1874	no returns

The hostilities that broke-out in 1863 leading to a general decline of trade resulted in the suspension of the brokerage fee in that year. A fee of about 3% of gold, cash, or ivory paid or bartered had been paid to the coastal brokers. In return for this sum the brokers had offered the traders accommodation and guaranteed the latter's honesty and good conduct in dealing with the merchants. In 1872 when the embargo on firearms and ammunitions was removed large numbers of traders flocked to the coast to trade. When trade with the interior revived, the coastal people began to make claims for the brokerage fee. Although the old custom was revived on the coast, Cape Coast merchants refused to comply with it, and this obstinancy led to serious trouble on the 25th Of October 1872. On that day nearly all the able bodied men in Cape Coast came out to picket and "placed themselves opposite the merchants' stores, and molested the people who were attempting to pass in and out for trading purposes and even ventured so far as

to take goods from the people who ventured outside."⁶⁷ The following day the gong-gong went round to the effect that: no one should purchase goods from the stores of Swanzys or Forster and Smith, the two largest European trading houses on the Gold Coast; no canoemen were to work for the merchants until the question of the brokerage fee had been settled and that penalties would be inflicted on those doing so. This boycott of the European shops, probably the first of its nature, was so effective that the chief agents of F. and A. Swanzy and Forster threatened to sue J. R. Thompson who had been responsible for organizing it. Under this threat, Thompson had the gong-gong beaten again to the effect that the people were now free to purchase from the stores that had been boycotted.⁶⁸ The attempt of the European merchants to carry on their trade in absolute independence of indigenous custom and the wishes of the people resulted in ill feeling between them and the Africans. As late as 1874 attempts were still being made to settle the brokerage question.⁶⁹

⁶⁷C.O.96/94: William Cleaver to Pope Hennessy, 4 November 1872.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹C.O.96/66: Pope Hennessy to Kimberly, 8 February 1874.

The suspension and the abrogation of the brokerage fee was an inevitable result of changes in the system of trading which had been going on with trade and economic change on the Gold Coast. Even before 1872 a change in method had been going on for some time. Instead of traders exchanging produce for European goods they were beginning to exchange for cash and by this method bought their desired goods at any store they pleased without the intervention of their host. Thus cash was taking the place of what might be called barter. According to W. F. Hutchinson, by the end of the Asante War of 1873-1874, because of the large quantity of coined money which it brought into the country, the old barter trade was replaced by cash trade.⁷⁰ The question of brokerage fees was but one of many problems that vexed traders.

There were clear and visible signs of commercial and economic change on the Gold Coast by the 1850's but there were problems that often inhibited the economic progress and development of the country, one of which was the question of credit--a feature of the African trade

⁷⁰Hutchinson, "The Gold Trade of the Gold Coast, 1826-1890," (1925), 10.

from at least the seventeenth century. Before the nineteenth century, both Africans and Europeans had offered credit terms. Africans frequently offered the European trader staple exports on credit when the goods he wanted were not immediately on hand. The European trader likewise offered the African trader goods on credit to be paid for with the produce of the country when it was available. This practice often involved great risk as there were occasions when both sides defaulted on payment.⁷¹

The system of credit after abolition was altered by economic change. Trade conducted by chartered companies and government officially declined, or ceased, following the interdiction ^{of} ~~to~~ the slave trade. Consequently, much of the trade on the coast came to depend upon individual and independent traders who largely relied on credit to pursue their commercial activities. These merchants received their trade goods in consignment from merchant houses in Europe, from super cargoes engaged in the floating trade, and later from the steamers, on credit. The systems of credit became especially prevalent

⁷¹Daaku, Trade and Politics, 41-42.

when trade from the Gold Coast and West Africa began to increase.⁷² Matthew Forster testified to this:

I am sorry to say that the system of credit has been of late years, in consequence of the great competition in the trade, introduced at the Gambia, and on the Gold Coast, and, in fact I believe, on all parts of the coast. It is a most objectionable and unfortunate system, and has been attended with very bad effects; it is one of the causes of the heavy losses that have been lately sustained in carrying on the trade.⁷³

Limited currency and the absence of banks no doubt exacerbated the problem of coastal credit, but European opposition to Africans securing credit during this period should be seen in the context of growing inter-group competition. This can be confirmed by Andrew Swanzy when he wrote in 1874 that:

Gradually a number of partially educated natives were admitted to the same advantages as the resident English traders, and received their supplies direct from the London firms. These men, instead of exchanging all their goods for produce, built houses, bought slaves, and surrounded themselves with a large retinue of servants, expended a great deal of the means entrusted to them in extravagance; and many of them were unable to estimate the cost of their goods, drove the European merchants from the trade by ruinous competition.⁷⁴

⁷²Parl. Papers 1842: Q.3346, Evidence of G.C.Redman.

⁷³Ibid., Q.10705, Evidence of M. Forster.

⁷⁴A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 479. The underlining is mine.

That there was a rivalry between African and European merchants cannot be denied.

The fact that African merchants who received goods on credit so early on started investing in slaves, houses and property when the surplus could have been reinvested into business is more a commentary on the trading practices rather than on the character of the Africans involved. Furthermore, it also reflected the social values of the people which were not those of a developed capitalistic society.

Trade on the Gold Coast involved great risks in view of conflicts that often interrupted commercial activities and the constant fluctuations in trade. Yet for the African trader ordering goods on his own account there was no insurance for him against possible loss. Thus, investment in houses and slaves provided a form of security for him and a necessity for carrying on his trade. A case in point is the house of James Bannerman, used not only as a residence but also as a trading and storage place for goods. In view of the difficulty of obtaining paid labourers in those days, slaves were also needed to perform a variety of duties such as canoemen, potters and workers around shops and establishments.

Again, in view of their increasing social and economic importance, African merchants had to maintain a standard of living which was consistent with their status.

Andrew Swanzy observed that: "The uneducated trader, while pursuing his business, remained content with his native fare and native fashion, whereas the newly-created gentleman must needs vie with and even excel, the white man in his personal and household expenditure, in order to assert and maintain his acquired position."⁷⁵ The complaints of European traders that:

Native Traders receiving supplies of Goods on credit do occasionally invest a portion of these goods in the purchase of slaves brought from the interior; that the slaves so purchased are employed as Labourers and Domestics about their Master's Establishment; that in case of insolvency while the other property of the Native Traders is available to his creditors, the portion of his property escapes confiscation.⁷⁶

were very true, but as will be seen the causes of the Africans' insolvency were created by the European trading firms advancing goods on credit to the African. In order to reap the maximum possible out of bankrupt African

⁷⁵A. Swanzy, "Civilization and Progress on the Gold Coast of Africa, as affected by European Conduct with the Native Inhabitants," 420.

⁷⁶C.O.96/21: 1 December 1847, Statement of Brodie Cruickshank, Francis Swanzy, Thomas Hutton, Henry Smith and Andrew Swanzy, all European merchants concerned with the Gold Coast trade.

traders and merchants connected with the trade on the Gold Coast proposed that the slaves of such debtors should become serviceable to the estate and work out their freedom, but nothing came of the proposal.⁷⁷

In order to deal with traders on the Gold Coast who became insolvent, a bankruptcy law was passed on the Gold Coast in 1858. Like the similar British bankruptcy act of the period, it not only made the debtors' assets available to his creditors, but also included a short jail sentence. British merchants associated with the Gold Coast trade felt that the act was very lenient and unsuitable for conditions on the Gold Coast. Andrew Swanzy complained:

Prior to preparing the bankruptcy Act the system worked well enough, but since it has been in operation, fully one half of the Native Traders (finding they could with its assistance get rid of their liabilities) have passed through the Court, several of them having been convicted of fraudulently concealing the property of their creditors and there is little doubt that the majority of the Bankruptcies have been attended with fraud and concealment of property, which from the nature of Trade carried on are easy to commit but difficult to detect, for in as much as Books or Accounts are rarely or very badly kept, it is almost impossible to discover the numerous small debts due to the Bankrupt or to trace the goods sent into the interior for sale in his behalf...Property on the Gold

77. Ibid.

Coast is generally invested in Houses and Slaves, and the first thing the Trader does in receiving credit is to build or purchase a house and a number of slaves, when bankruptcy ensues the Bankrupt's family claim the house as family property and relative after relative is brought forward to prove that is the case and in the slaves the court can not possibly deal with them as available assets, and they remain practically the property of the Bankrupt.⁷⁸

According to Swanzy, "Of the native traders, who before conducted themselves well and paid their accounts, and were held to be respectable, more than two-thirds have since gone through the court, certainly one-half of them."⁷⁹ He felt that as the traders there did not keep any books and their customs were so different from those of Europeans, British bankruptcy laws were not the remedy for insolvent debtors.⁸⁰ Some merchants like Matthew Forster advocated using the rules of equity and "native" laws where expedient, as George Maclean had done in his day. He wrote: "Mr. Maclean applied the rules of equity more than the rules of English law in cases where the natives were concerned, and he adopted the native law

⁷⁸C.O.96/66: 6 November 1864, Swanzy to Secretary of State.

⁷⁹Parl. Papers 1865, Q.4673, Evidence of A. Swanzy.

⁸⁰Quoted in A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 480.

where he found it equitable and just; and native law, though rude and simple, is not ill-adapted to their condition, and a Bankruptcy Court has been established at Cape Coast which is doing great mischief."⁸¹ In spite of these protestations European firms continued to grant Africans credit. Matthew Forster observed that "It may be said, don't thrust them, [the African merchants] but that is to say that no business was done." It would seem that the more unreliable African creditors became, the higher would be the prices charged by European firms. That credit was continued is perhaps an indication of the fact that, even with the bankruptcies, European Merchant Houses were still reaping profits from African merchants.

Probably the most celebrated case of the credit system and bankruptcy was that of Joseph Smith of Cape Coast. For a period of thirty years Smith was in the service of the local government as a schoolmaster, secretary, accountant, assistant warehousekeeper, collector of customs and magistrate and from 1844 to 1859 he was a commercial correspondent of Forster and Smith. During this period the total business Joseph

⁸¹Quoted in A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection", 480.

Smith carried with Forster and Smith amounted to L138,723 2s 9d. In addition to this he paid L32,000 in freight, interest and sundry charges. While the firm of Forster and Smith was making enormous profits from Smiths' trade, they were unscrupulously cheating him by adding from 25 to 50% and sometimes more to the cost of the goods they supplied him.⁸² This was, of course, an old practice. As early as 1826 it had been reported that trade goods were sold to Europeans on the coast at cost price, to mulattos at a higher price and to blacks at a still higher price.⁸³

By 1856 Smith was heavily indebted to Forster and Smith and to rid himself of this obligation, he went to Badagry to trade, hoping that he would realize enough profits there to pay his debts. While at Badagry he had the opportunity to compare his invoice with that of the European traders and discovered that his invoices were 25% - 75% higher. Smith remonstrated with Forster and Smith who indirectly admitted overcharging him on certain kinds of goods, but they did not offer to make

⁸²C.O.96/58: Petition of Joseph Smith, 12 April 1862.

⁸³G.J. No. 727, 1826; Norregard, Danish Settlements in West Africa, 196.

any reduction in the L18,000 he owed the firm. In order to salvage something from his trade, Smith decided to use the name of a friend to get his palm oil sold in England, but when the oil arrived there, Forster and Smith confiscated it. The firm then sent agents to the Gold Coast to collect the L18,000 due them. When the matter reached the courts, it was conceded that Smith had been cheated. In this case Smith should not have owed anything, as the amount for which he had been deceived (28,000) exceeded what he owed. But as Forster and Smith pleaded the statute of limitation, the debt was reduced only by L 2,000. The court ordered Smith to pay the remaining L16,000 in three months and as he was without the means to pay, he declared himself bankrupt in 1861.⁸⁴

Significantly Joseph Smith's case was the first time the statute of limitation had been invoked on the Gold Coast and understandably this underlined the conflict in determining the kind of laws that were to be employed in governing commercial relationships on the

⁸⁴C.O.96/58: The petition of Joseph Smith, 12 April 1862; African Times, 24 October 1870, "A Relative", 41.

Gold Coast. This situation was further emphasized by the intervention of the family of Joseph Smith. The relatives argued that it was a family house and that all of them had contributed towards its cost. They said that as a family house was the common and hereditary property of the family, it was not liable to be taken or sold for the debt of any one member of the family and referring to Brodie Cruickshank's Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast to support their contention. They regarded the seizure of Smith's house as an act of panyarring or the unlawful seizure of the property of the third parties.⁸⁵ Although some African merchants hid the goods of their creditors and purposely declared themselves bankrupt, Joseph Smith's case was an exception. He went bankrupt, as did many others, because he was cheated

⁸⁵C.O.96/66: Joseph Smith, for Nelly Thompson on behalf of themselves and other relatives to Edward Cardwell, 8 June 1864. They referred to a passage in Cruickshank, Eighteen Years, I, 316 which supported the contention: ". . . it was customary to regard the possessions of a house as a common family fund, in which all the members of the family, while they remained such, had a share; at the same time, that the head or representative of the family had the direction and disposal of it--such a species of possession, in fact, as passes in Africa under the name of "family property."

and over extended himself with credit. The Governor of the Gold Coast settlements reported that he had the best reason to believe that Joseph Smith was "utterly without means before his death."⁸⁶

The fraudulent practice of debtors to cheat their creditors was proverbially called "white washing" on the Gold Coast. 1870 Governor Kennedy commented thus about "white washing":

This evil is of daily occurrence here. A debtor will tell you go on with your suit; you will not get a farthing. I will declare myself insolvent. You get indignant. After one or two years in which time the insolvent has made away with all his property and fictitious transfers, etc. He files a schedule alleging that he has no books or papers, no property whatever. It is not worth a creditors while to offer any opposition and in a few weeks you will see him opening a shop full of merchandise, walking about the streets dressed like a gentleman triumphantly in defiance of his defrauded creditors.⁸⁷

The chief magistrate of the settlements himself noted the abuse in the credit system and the bankruptcy law:

I think it probable that adjudication of Bankruptcy has frequently been granted abusively; I mean when given to debtors on their own Petition without sufficient examination or regard to the circumstances

⁸⁶C.O.96/87: Kennedy to Kimberly, 11 January 1871.

⁸⁷C.O.96/85: Kennedy to Kimberly, 8 October 1870.

under which the debts have been contracted. This facility may have given rise to an idea amongst some of the natives that they can get rid of liabilities by means of the Bankruptcy courts whenever they choose to take the necessary steps.⁸⁸

While some African creditors might have defrauded the creditors by going through the Bankruptcy courts, there is ample reason to believe that many African merchants went bankrupt because of the credit and trading practices of the time.

Another major problem of the economic development of the Gold Coast at this time was the want of a uniform money or proper currency for commercial purposes. It is true that gold dust passed as currency on the Gold Coast but, because of the practical problem of weighing it, was not always convenient in commercial transactions.⁸⁹ Cowries also passed as currency, but their bulk did not always make them a convenient medium of exchange.⁹⁰ Commodity currency and barter also had limitations

⁸⁸C.O.96/87: Letter of D.P. Chalmers, 30 December 1870.

⁸⁹See Chapter I.

⁹⁰For a full discussion of cowries, see Marion Johnson's two articles, "The Cowrie Currencies in West Africa," J.A.H. XI, pt. I, No. 1 (1970), 17-49 and pt. II, No. 3, 331-53.

because unless the customer wanted the particular product being offered there was not the incentive to produce for exchange. The assortment of European coins circulating on the Gold Coast was diverse and too few to meet the needs of the commercial operations of the country. Among these were the Spanish dollar and the French five franc piece.⁹¹

The first British coins were sent to the Gold Coast in 1818, but they were really not money. They consisted of silver tokens valued at 1s 6d and 3s which were coined under the direction of the African Company as rewards to children for going to school.⁹² In 1822 dollars were also introduced to pay the salaries of troops and to cover other expenses, and three years later British silver coins were introduced.⁹³ But besides this limited use of money, salaries of merchants and other officers were paid in goods as they had been the case before the nineteenth century.⁹⁴ This money was not

⁹¹Albert Adomako, "The History of Currency and Banking in some West African Countries," E.B.G., VII, 4 (1963), 8.

⁹²Parl. Papers, 1842: Q.1491, Evidence of Sewell.

⁹³Ibid., Q.1484, Evidence of Sewell.

⁹⁴Ibid., Q.1493, Evidence of Sewell.

used in commercial transactions.⁹⁵ The payment of soldiers in money was discontinued immediately after the British government transferred the administration of the forts to the committee of merchants.⁹⁶

In 1846 Governor Winniett noted that the coins in circulation on the Gold Coast were British gold, silver, and copper coins, Spanish and South American doubloons, dollars and half dollars and a few five franc pieces. He divided the coins as follows:⁹⁷

British coins	L1,500	
Spanish and South American coins		L2,000
Coins of other nations	L200	

This figure of course is a very crude guess because there was really no way of knowing with any accuracy the amount of currency in circulation. Furthermore, the value quoted for the money is an almost ridiculously small amount compared with the government's annual revenue or the total commercial turn-over of the Gold Coast.

⁹⁵Ibid., Q. 1487, Evidence of Sewell.

⁹⁶Ibid., Q's 1505-1514, Evidence of Sewell.

⁹⁷C.O.96/11: Report of Winniett to accompany Blue Books for 1846.

The value of the British and foreign coins are represented in the table below:⁹⁸

British Coins 1846		Currency value
	Sterling value	
British sovereign	L1	L1 2s 3d
British half sovereign	10s	11s 1½d
Crown pieces	5s	5s 7d
Half crown	2s 6d	2s 9½d
Shilling pieces	1s 0d	1s 1d
Six pence pieces	6d	6½d

Foreign Coins 1846		Currency value
	Sterling value	
Doubloons	L3 4s 0d	L3 11s 3d
Spanish and American dollars	4s 2d	4s 8d
French 5 franc pieces	3s 10½d	4s 4d
French 20 franc pieces	15s 6d	17s 4d

By 1865 the lack of a common and convenient currency was keenly felt and there was growing an intense dislike for cowries by commercial interests. A Basel Missionary, the Rev. E. Shrenk, suggested that in order to further trade the government should forbid the import of cowrie shells and devalue them so that the indigenous people

98C.O.100/2: Blue Book for 1846.

would be forced to accept English or other foreign money.⁹⁹

There was also a complaint in the African Times in 1867 which affirmed the adverse effects of the use of cowries and the extent to which the scarcity of coins affected trade:

It is deplorable to relate the heavy loss which the petty traders and almost every person here suffer by the use of these cowrie shells, and more so by the dislike of them of the principal merchants here, who, if cash is not brought to buy their goods, charge an extra per-centage on them, to meet the fluctuations in their price or any deficiency that may occur. . . in counting, while in many cases they refuse them altogether; and in that case, if you have no cash at all, you are obliged to keep your cowries and go without your goods till you convert them. Formerly the dollar, 4s 6d value sold here for only 1 head 12 strings and a-half or 2,500 cowries. . . and now to the enormous price of 2 heads and a-half, this being the present exchange; and still dollars are scarce. Nobody on this Coast is unaware that it was this scarcity of coins here which made the palm oil become so dear and goods dearer. For instance, a trader buys goods from a merchant or supercargo on credit, and he sets him some short time to pay him. These goods he would sell well to his advantage but, alas! in cowries, which would not be taken by his creditor. He would then try to convert them either into cash or palm oil; the former being very scarce could not be obtained without a great loss of time and trouble; so, for fear of breaking his engagement with his creditor, he would try for the palm oil, which, too

⁹⁹Elias Shrenk, "Was Soll aus der Goldkuste Werden?" M.M. 1865, reprinted in M.M. 1958, 38.

through scarcity, could not be obtained without paying an enormous price, or putting more dashes on it, thus sacrificing all the accumulated profits he had obtained, and even perhaps involving him in debt beside; thus instead of gain, he has loss. This discourages many here from engaging in any trade at all. 100

The need for proper currency could not be over-emphasized.

In 1869 it was reported that there was an unprecedented demand for British coins which had begun in 1865. Between 1866 and 1869 about L80,000 worth of British silver coins were imported into Salt Pond alone for the purchase of palm oil. Many of these were taken into the interior and used as ornaments instead of currency. The people preferred coins bearing the effigy of Queen Victoria and refused those minted before her reign on the grounds that the monarchs whose subscriptions they bore were dead and so the coins were valueless. They also preferred new shiny coins and invariably rejected those that were even slightly worn. As British silver gained popularity, Africans "who formerly used to purchase the smallest articles with Gold dust steadily refuse to accept it in the market or to give produce for it."¹⁰¹ By 1870 the use of cowries

¹⁰⁰African Times, 23 February 1876, "A Native," 97.

¹⁰¹C.O.96/74: Ussher to Blackall, 4 May 1869.

had also declined even in the eastern districts where they had formerly been very popular. Despite the increased use of silver coins by 1870 the time for better regulation of currency to aid economic activities was yet to come.¹⁰² An Act to regulate currency was passed in 1880--the "Demonetisation Ordinance"--which restricted currency to the following:

- (i) All gold and British sterling
- (ii) Spanish and South American doubloons at L3 4s.
American double eagles at L4 2s, American eagles at L2 1s, French 20 franc pieces at 15s 0d, and gold dust and nuggets at L3 12s per ounce.

Another major obstacle to economic development on the Gold Coast was transportation. Much of the external trade on the Gold Coast came from the interior and invariably its accessibility vitally affected the commercial life of the country. It is significant that the palm oil trade was concentrated in areas close to the coast and in the Volta region where river communications were available. In 1887, for example, the Basel

¹⁰²Chalmers, History of Currency in the British Colonies, 212-13.

Missionaries reported that bad transportation and a forty-five hour long trip from Kwahu prevented the people of that region from bringing their goods to the coast for sale.¹⁰³ While items like gold and ivory which fetched high prices could be carried from the far interior and sold for good profits on the coast, others like palm oil could not.

In the 1850's and 1860's the Basel Missionaries worked on the first properly constructed road on the Gold Coast from Christiansborg through Aburi and Akropong to Odumase that was to connect their stations. Two hours from Odumasi was the Volta basin.¹⁰⁴

In 1861 an appeal from the African Times for funds to help with the construction of this road brought generous contributions. Messrs. Forster and Smith and Messrs. Swanzy and Company contributed L20 and L10 10s, respectively.¹⁰⁵ In 1865, ^{when} while the Basel Missionary Elias Shrenk visited Britain, he also sought financial aid. He said that once their road was opened and

¹⁰³B.M.A., Schmitt, "Land Und Volke Okuawu," 23 September 1886 in Heidenbotes, 1887, 2.

¹⁰⁴C.O.96/45: Bird to Lytton, 17 May 1859; Wanner, Basler Handels Gesellschaft, 227.

¹⁰⁵African Times, 22 November 1862, 59.

frequented by carts, drawn by cattle, the Africans would perceive the importance of roads and would be encouraged to make others in various parts of the country. Shrenk estimated that approximately L500 were needed to complete the project, but if the British local government on the Gold Coast could persuade the chiefs in the eastern region to help, it would scarcely amount to half of the projected cost.¹⁰⁶

The importance of roads for the economic development of Ghana figured prominently in "What Shall Become of the Gold Coast," a pamphlet written by Shrenk in 1865. He said that roads were not only important for furthering commerce on the Gold Coast, but for maintaining peace as well. After reviewing goods exported from the interior, he pointed out the difficulty involved in transporting them to the coast. He expressed surprise that the British government had not been sensible enough to build roads to exploit the resources of the country and although the British government had always claimed that there was no money in the treasury for roads,

¹⁰⁶C.O.96/69: Shrenk to Cardwell, 22 June 1865.

there had always been funds for the Asante wars.¹⁰⁷

The cause of road building on the Gold Coast was championed by the African Times throughout this period under discussion in this chapter. The Times was particularly interested in the opening of a road between the coast and the Asante frontier. The paper wrote in 1864:

We must beg of our friends that they will not tire of our returning again and again to this theme of roads--roads--roads in Africa. It forces itself upon us at every step of our progress. And we are compelled to be persistent. . . Our statements of the large economy that would result from a road expenditure between the sea coast and the Ashantee frontier can no longer be termed visionary even by the widest redtapist. 108

Again in 1865 it commented about the Gold Coast:

She of herself can never utilise or develop. Open roads--bring all the people into peaceful contact with one another, relieve them from being beasts of burden, and make them agriculturalists, and miners, under proper direction, and with the assistance of capital--or give them good examples. 109

The efforts of the African Times to get roads built on the Gold Coast evoked little response from the British

¹⁰⁷Shrenk, "Was Soll aus der Goldkuste Werden?," 1865, reprinted in Mission Magazin 1958, 29-40.

¹⁰⁸African Times, 23 July 1864, 9.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., 23 February 1865.

government. British local authorities on the Gold Coast, for example, felt that the suggestion to construct roads to the Asante was premature. They felt that without peace a road to the Pra River on the frontiers of Asante "could not safely be undertaken and that possibly even the Assins might object to it in a strategic point of view, as affording an easy entrance into their territory."¹¹⁰ The first reasonably good track to Asante was constructed by British engineers for Wolseley's advance from Cape Coast in 1873-1874. When the British defeated Asante in 1874, transportation to the interior was still a problem, but the conquest marked the beginning of opening avenues of communication with the inland states.

Although not incompatible with economic growth, certain indigenous social institutions impeded economic growth. As two economic scholars have observed:

Certain social institutions which are appropriate to a subsistence or near-subsistence economy may impede economic growth by reducing the rewards of individuals who take advantage of the opportunities presented by wider markets and the improved availability of co-operant resources. ¹¹¹

¹¹⁰C.O.96/85: Ussher to Kennedy, 11 October 1870.

¹¹¹Bauer and Yamey, Economics of Under-Developed Countries, 64.

The extended family is an example of this hinderance. A specific example of this kind of relationship is the claim staked by the extended family of Joseph Smith on his house when he went bankrupt. Smith's relatives were not only interested in saving the house from the bankruptcy court, but they also had a vested interest in it. As has been noted while the extended family or the joint family may have many advantages at one level of economic achievement it may later limit economic progress and development.¹¹²

Institutional arrangements like the communal ownership of land also restricted effective modern economic development. It has been affirmed that "communal rights prevent the energetic or able individual members of the group from acquiring more land at the expense of the indolent or unproductive."¹¹³

More important in affecting modern economic development was the prevalence of domestic slavery which before its abolition was an important feature of Gold Coast society and right up to 1874 was to form an integral

¹¹²Ibid.

¹¹³Ibid., 52.

part of the internal trade. In 1871 the Asante were reported to be bringing slaves aged between 8 and 20 into the settlements under the British for sale at L10 to L12 each.¹¹⁴ In a society where slaves performed much of the labor, incentive and motivation to work and production for exchange were limited. Thus, in order to bring about accelerated economic development and to achieve production for sale, this labor had to be brought into productive use.

George Maclean had made a beginning when he initiated putting slave labour into productive use by ~~freeing~~ manumitting slaves who had been badly treated by their masters and allowing some pawns to work off the debts for which they were held.¹¹⁵ The abolition of domestic slavery among the members of their congregations by the Basel missionaries in 1863 also directed the labour of slaves to gainful employment to the latter's own benefit.

The struggle to free the slaves of the Christians associated with the Basel Mission started in 1860. In that year the missionary George Widmann, who was then stationed at Akropong and head of the Mission on the

¹¹⁴C.O.96/89: Salmon to Kennedy, 3 November 1871.

¹¹⁵See Chapter III.

Gold Coast, wanted all Christians in that district to give up slavery in six years. This question was discussed at two conferences at Aburi and Akropong in 1860. At the Conference at Akropong in November 1860 they talked about freeing all the slaves of their converts in 7 years, following the Laws of Moses. The director of the Basel Mission in Switzerland at the time, Joseph Josenhaus, supported this idea, but Zimmerman, the translator of the Ga Bible--who turned out to be the best expert the Mission had on African affairs--opposed it.¹¹⁶

Zimmerman argued that there was no hardship involved in ~~the~~ domestic slavery on the Gold Coast and that the relationship between slave and master was akin to that of a father and a son. He pointed out that domestic slavery as a system of labour was better than that of Europe and that the slave was protected for life by his master. Zimmerman wanted the Mission to consider the financial and the social implications involved in liberating the slaves. Widermann thought that Zimmerman was not sensible in his reasoning, and that because he had a black wife (Jamaican) his views were coloured and

¹¹⁶Herman Klemm, Elias Schrenk der Weg eines Evangelisten (Wuppertal, 1961), 73-74.

could not be impartial, He felt that it would do Zimmerman good to return to Europe. For his views, Widermann sent him to the minor station of Krobo Odumasi. Another missionary, Locher, who contended that African domestic slavery was based on the Bible and that the Apostle Paul did not regard it as sin was sent from Christiansborg to Abobobi for his views.¹¹⁷

Josenhaus, who insisted on freeing the slaves, argued that slavery was the center of African darkness. He thought of raising money to pay for the liberation of slaves, but decided the Christians should not be compensated. The liberation efforts were helped by the African Evangelists, David Asante, Benjamin Tete, and Wilhelm Oforikae, who painted a dark picture of the institution and said that the African Christians would be willing to relinquish their slaves.¹¹⁸

After the Basel Missionaries had firmly committed themselves to abolishing domestic slavery, they ascertained which of the church members were slave holders and asked them how much they had paid for their slaves

¹¹⁷Ibid., 76.

¹¹⁸Ibid., 76-79.

and whether they would be willing to free them. Some said that they could never do that, others said that they would but could not do it right away. The procedure the missionaries adopted was the manumission which was to declare the slave a debtor for the sum which his master had paid for him, and the slave was made to work for the payment of the debt. Some masters gave their slaves a piece of land to cultivate when they were not engaged in working to redeem themselves, so that by the time they were free, they had some property of their own.¹¹⁹

At the time of liberating the slaves, there were about 956 Christians in the churches of the Basel Mission¹²⁰, and the bulk of them were in Akuapem in the towns of Akropong and Aburi and their outstations. The other Christian bodies of the Mission were at Christiansborg, Abokobi, and Krobo Odumasi. As most of these former slaves were strangers, they were therefore not entitled to land in the communities where they had been liberated. The presence of these people in the

¹¹⁹Parl. Papers 1865, A's.3334-3335, Evidence of Elias Shrenk.

¹²⁰Parl. Papers 1865, Q.3334, Evidence of Shrenk.

primarily agricultural region of Akuapem could not have been insignificant for the future of agriculture in that area. In the gold mining areas, for example, two-thirds of the gold dug had often gone to the land owner, and it is unlikely that strangers who farmed land belonging to others had a right to all the produce reaped from the land. What is being suggested here is that a characteristic labour practice in the cocoa industry evolved from earlier practices, abusa,¹²¹ which means the proceeds are divided into three parts with the labourer receiving two thirds and the employing farmer receiving a third. The practice of abusa had certainly been applied in the Asante kola industry long before cocoa came to Asante.¹²² The system was also employed in the rubber industry during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.¹²³ Thus it is possible that following the customary practice, the freed slaves in Akwapem worked and shared the produce from their farms through a system similar to that of abusa. It is true that domestic slavery was abolished in the British territories on the Gold Coast twelve years

¹²¹See Hill, Gold Coast Cocoa-Farmer, 8-24.

¹²²Ibid.

¹²³Ibid., 10.

later in 1875,¹²⁴ but the lead was manifested by the Christians of the Basel Mission Congregation with provisions made for the slaves to enable them to pursue a life for themselves and for their own benefit.

Domestic slaves, in a sense, were a form of riches, an asset or capital for their owners. In addition to slaves, wealth on the Gold Coast during this period consisted of gold and beads which were secure forms of investment.¹²⁵ As wealth was often invested in these hoarded items, there was an absence of capital to develop and to transform the economy of the country. While these forms of wealth have been utilized in traditional society as tribute, pawns, and security for credit they were not easily translated readily into capital investments in a modern economy.

Realizing the need for capital for Gold Coast and West African development, the African Times in 1868 called public attention to the problem in an article entitled "Native Capitalists", which asserted that for the development of resources and for general progress what was needed was capital. Where capital did not

¹²⁴See Chapter VI.

¹²⁵Parl. Papers 1816, 161, 197 and 201.

exist it had to be created or imported. In some British colonies the economic development was stimulated by capital from Britain and from immigrants who occupied the lands and improved them with resources from imperial expenditure, or money lent from England. But because of the nature of the British West African settlements they did not attract such investments:

From this it follows that if West Africa is to progress, it must be chiefly, if not entirely, by means of her own resources. In other words, there must be a creation of native capitalists. And the time has arrived at which this creation ought to take place. But it never can take place while the realized surplus product of industry goes out of the country. That realized surplus, which, in the infancy of trade and resources, went almost inevitably into the hands of the British merchant and trader, and has thus been lost to the country, must now be kept at home, for it is on the keeping it at home in the hands of natives that a rapid progress in Africa absolutely depends. 126

Much of the early profits had gone to British merchants and traders, since before the rise of a large African merchant class, most of the traders on the coast had been European. As the bulk of the profits from trade went into Europe, the African Times suggested that means had to be found to keep as much of it as possible in the hands of African traders and producers. The paper

126 African Times, 23 May 1868, 130.

suggested a way of accomplishing it:

It must be done partly by them and partly for them. They must exercise prudence, self-restraint and self-denial, as well as industry and intelligence; and they must be aided in England by zeal and faithfulness, and the most strict and scrupulous honesty in every dealing with them. On this side they ought to have every advantage which the British markets can offer, paying only a fair and open and recognized charge for the services rendered to them; and they on their side, must restrain themselves within the limits which what they themselves possess will allow. 127

The African Times pledged itself to help in the creation of the "Native Capitalists," who could use some of their wealth for the construction of public works.

The paper felt:

It is time that the great body of native traders on the Coast, the indispensable medium of barter for European goods against native produce, should become something more than mere slaves of European capital, working for scanty profit or a mere subsistence, and not unfrequently to be overloaded with fictitious debt; it is time, we say, that this great body of native traders should begin to appropriate to themselves, for themselves and their country, the great profits of that trade, instead of a mere pittance from it. We call upon every one of them to say with firm resolve "I will become a native capitalist;" and we are convinced that if they will do their part of prudence and self-denial and energy, while availing themselves of the advantages we have prevailed upon ourselves to offer them in our commercial agency, they will soon become the capitalists they may have resolved that they will become. 128

127 Ibid.

128 Ibid. The underlining is mine.

Indeed with all the bankruptcies and failures in business there was need to complain about trade practices. The constant overcharging which often led to loss or only scanty profits surely made the African merchants in the words of Fitzgerald "Mere slaves of European capital." In spite of the apparent concern of Fitzgerald and the African Times, they were not disinterested observers. They had also been interested in the African trade and felt that their "commercial agency" could offer the African merchants better terms which would enable them to attain their aim of becoming "Native Capitalists." The "commercial agency" of the African Times seem to have been established in 1870. At least from that date a regular advertisement appeared in the paper concerning it:

African Agency

For Transacting Business in England for Natives and Other Traders on the West Coast of Africa.

In consequence of wishes expressed from all parts of the West Coast, Mr. Fitzgerald has made arrangements for selling produce consigned to him by ships to London or Liverpool; and purchasing and shipping goods ordered against the proceeds of consignments or other effective remittances only, from either of the above ports, on a system by which the greatest possible advantage of the markets will be secured to the AFRICAN TRADER, who will not be charged one penny

beyond what is actually paid, except only the commission openly debited in account. 129

According to Andrew Swanzy, in 1874 the only African who had enough capital to trade on her own account was Mrs. Henry Barnes of Cape Coast.¹³⁰ By this time merchants houses like F. and A. Swanzy had established their own stores on the coast instead of sending goods to African agents on credit;¹³¹ the Basel Mission Trading Company had also become entrenched in the country¹³²; and Forster and Smith had ceased to operate on the Gold Coast. Consequently, the lack of capital on the part of the African merchants to trade on ^{their} ~~his~~ own account¹³³ or their elimination from the commercial scene reflected the economic plight of African merchants and their support of

¹²⁹African Times, 24 January 1870.

¹³⁰A. Swanzy, "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection," 479.

¹³¹Parl. Papers 1865.

¹³²African Times, 22 August 1868, 22.

¹³³Richard Brew, son of the merchant Samuel Collins Brew and a grandson of Sam Kanto Brew, was a good example of the new inferior role being played by African merchants around the 1860's and 1870's. Instead of becoming a merchant in his own right Richard Brew became a factor and commission agent of a European firm. Priestly, West African Trade and Coast Society, 151. ^e

a political organization like the Fante Confederation was no idle speculation. Admittedly the Fante Confederation¹³⁴ came into existence following the exchange of forts between the British and the Dutch in 1868, but it came after almost two decades of discontent and conflict with the local government. Furthermore the attempts made to put the organization onto a permanent footing in 1872 showed that the Confederation was more than an ad hoc association to protest an action of foreign governments without their consent and to defend themselves against Asante.

Although every educated person on the Gold Coast was in sympathy with the objectives of the Fante Confederations¹³⁵ it is significant that most of the leaders of the movement and allegedly disreputable advisors of the Fante Chiefs (except Ghartey and Blankson) were not the richer African merchants, but rather ambitious literate clerks and employees who had failed to make good. Administrator H. T. Ussher's severe

¹³⁴See Kimble, Political History; F. Agbodaka, "The Fanti Confederacy, 1865-1869," T.H.S.G. VII (1965), 82-123.

¹³⁵C.O.96/94: Pope Hennessy to Kimberly, 29 October 1872.

characterization of the "ostensible movers" of the Fante Confederation, probably mirror the economic, not to mention the political, discontent of these people. W. E. Davidson, a hotel keeper at Cape Coast, was "considered a disreputable character especially in trading matters." Ussher claimed that Davidson, abetted by others, had attempted to extort a large sum of money from a French nobleman. J. F. Amissah was "a Bankrupt, now a clerk." S. Ferguson was "a trader of notoriously bad character and violent in his language towards British Government." J. H. Brew was "a pleader in the Courts, generally of bad repute, and is supposed on good grounds to have had incestuous intercourse with his sister, by whom he had a child." R. J. Ghartey allegedly "offered a compromise with his creditors, which he appears to carry out" and is not otherwise of bad repute. Joseph Hayford supposedly was "gravely implicated in a robbery at Anammaboe from an American captain" and was also "afterwards dismissed from the service of the commissariat for misconduct and embezzelment." George Blankson, Junior, was described as "an habitual drunkard, dismissed from Clerk of Courts for dishonest practice." J. M. Insiadoo, was the "most

respectable of the foregoing but eccentric and violent." W. C. Fynn was "formerly clerk of courts at Accra and Cape Coast dismissed for dishonesty and extortion--a very bad character." Joseph Dawson was "dismissed from the Wesleyan Society for evil practices." Kwesi Edoo, King of Mankessim, was "a great drunkard, violent and ignorant fanatic." Anfoo Otoo, King of Abura, was characterized as "the best of all, powerful and intelligent chief--ambitious and violent, but honest--is strongly disposed against the Government."¹³⁶

The serious imputations on the character of the leaders of the Confederation were unjust and unfair. Pope Hennessy, to whom the allegations were sent, did not pay much attention to the grave statement.¹³⁷ However, it is significant that except for the two Kings of Mankessim and Abura, the leaders were "educated natives" who had some vested interest in the economy. The interest of this educated group was amply reflected in the goals of the Confederation as they appeared in the 1872 Constitution of the organization from which

¹³⁶C.O.96/94: Ussher to Pope Hennessy, 5 April 1872.

¹³⁷C.O. 96/94: Pope Hennessy to Kimberly, 29 October 1872.

Article 8 reads:

That it be the object of the Confederation:

- i To promote friendly intercourse between all the kings and chiefs of Fanti, and to unite them for offensive and defensive purposes against their common enemy.
- ii To direct the labours of the Confederation towards the improvement of the country at large.
- iii To make good and substantial roads throughout all the interior districts included in the Confederation.
- iv To erect school-houses and establish schools for the education of all children within the Confederation, and to obtain the service of efficient school-masters.
- v To promote agricultural and industrial pursuits, and to endeavour to introduce such new plants as may hereafter become sources of profitable commerce to the country.
- vi To develop and facilitate the working of the mineral and other resources of the country. 138

These objectives strike a very modern note, and show foresight, keen sensitivity and awareness of the political and economic needs of the country on the part of the framers of the document. The first clause which called for friendship among the Fante and unity for offensive and defensive purposes no doubt was in response to British Policy following the Parliamentary Commission of 1865 of encouraging the chiefs to depend upon themselves

¹³⁸C.O.96/94: Brew to Pope Hennessy, 16 April 1872. Horton's influence on this and the Constitution as a whole is carefully analyzed in Kimble, Political History, 243, 246.

rather than British support. Clauses two and three called for improvement of the country and the construction of roads in the interior. In the Confederation these roads would have immensely helped with the communication problem that often inhibited economic development. Clause four dealt with the problem of social improvement. More important perhaps for this study clauses v and vi called for the promotion of agricultural and industrial pursuits and the development and facilitation of gold mining. These economic pursuits were close to the hearts of the educated group as their efforts in the rubber and gold mining activities of the 1880's were to prove.¹³⁹

The founding in Accra of the short-lived organization, similar to that of the Fante Confederation, can be linked to economic grievance. As the educated people in the Accra region reasoned, "Circumstances which have sprung up since the unsettled state of the country have compelled the educated natives, in conjunction with the kings on the seacoast--viz., of James Town, Old Dutch

¹³⁹On the rubber trade, see Duménil, "Rubber trade in the Nineteenth Century of the Gold Coast and Asante: African Innovation and Responsiveness."

Accra, and Christiansborg--to form a close political combination, whose first object is to bring a speedy termination to the wars and disturbances which have nearly ruined Accra."¹⁴⁰ Their concern was clear; Accra was ruined because trade was at a standstill due to conflict in the eastern region. The immediate occasion of their alarm was the failure of the Accra Chiefs even to attempt to fulfill their undertaking to Administrator Simpson to furnish an army of 2,000 men to go to the relief of Krepi attacked by Asante and Akwamu.¹⁴¹ To deal with the conflict they formed an Association in August, 1865. The committee that the Association formed was composed of W. Lutterodt (president), George Cleland, J. E. Richter, W. Addo, James Bannerman, and L. Hope. Except for the last named, all were leading merchants. There seem to have been about 60 educated people at Accra connected with the Association, but the fact that a collection at this time for ammunition among them raised only L300, does not suggest many of them were well-off in 1869. The declining fortunes of Accra

¹⁴⁰Horton, Letters, 29-30.

¹⁴¹Ibid., 37.

merchants and their loosing grip of trade was illustrated by families with trading traditions leaving trade and seeking other occupations. Admittedly, the widening of occupations was a feature of the developing modern economy but seemingly it was circumstances that were driving these people out of commerce.

In the Accra area, especially around Christiansborg, Danish descendants who had inherited considerable wealth from their ancestors who had been merchants began to ^{lose} their mercantile position following the poll tax disturbances, the conflicts in the 1860's and competition from the Basel Mission Trading Company. After this period they began to seek employment with the Basel Mission as trading agents, teachers, evangelists and ministers. The case of the venerable Ghanaian historian C. C. Reindorf illustrates this change. He left school and went into trade but later returned to complete his education. It is not clear why he returned to school, but one would surmise that he probably failed in commerce. Even after finishing school and becoming a Catechist he retired temporarily to establish a coffee plantation near Aburi in Akuapem.¹⁴²

¹⁴²Debrunner, History of Christianity, 162; See, also the biography in Gold Coast and Asante by C. C. Reindorf.

Other Danish descendants with a tradition of trading in their families who turned to the Basel Mission as agents were Karl Quist, Thomas Svaniker, Samuel Holm, Christian Wrisberg, Frederick Palm, Jeremias Engmann and Paul Fleischer.¹⁴³ Outside the sphere of the Basel Mission, not much is heard of the Danish descendants between 1874 and the end of the nineteenth century as traders and prominent people; but their influence was to be felt again in local government and other walks of life in the twentieth century.

African merchants who were losing an economic position especially in the 1860's found an outlet for their discontent in organizations to govern and to develop their country. Although the mining activities that followed the Asante war and the booming rubber trade¹⁴⁴ in the 1880's and 1890's enabled them to recover from their economic plight, the tendency towards large-scale enterprise and the growth of a European commercial oligopoly and the exclusion of African traders

¹⁴³Debrunner, History of Christianity, 162.

¹⁴⁴See Dumett, "Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century: African Innovation and Responsiveness."

resulted in further discontent. It was probably no coincidence that the evolution of the Gold Coast Aborigines' Rights Protection Society came at a time when European firms were once more squeezing the African merchant out of big commercial operations and relegating to them the position of petty traders and agents to large European firms.

CHAPTER VI

ON THE THRESHOLD OF A MODERN ECONOMY

The British annexation of the Gold Coast in 1874 following the defeat of Asante and the removal of the seat of Government from Cape Coast to Accra in 1877 may be said to have marked the beginning of a new era for the economic development of the Gold Coast. By this time a skeleton of modern government was operating over a wide area of the country; there were more government departments that needed permanent buildings and services; material civilization was much in evidence, and the slow progress towards a modern economy continued. In fact, it was during the period following the formal establishment of British rule when the country entered what has often been called the "economic revolution"¹ in the 1890's. The story of economic development between 1874 and the years of economic revolution is beyond the scope of this

1. See McPhee, Economic Revolution in British West Africa and Szereszewski, Structural Changes in the Economy of Ghana 1891-1911.

study; but before any conclusions are drawn from the earlier period some of the important developments up to the last decade of the nineteenth century need to be mentioned briefly.

The conflict of 1873-1874 had a tremendous impact on the Asante and the defeat suffered in war, in part, brought about the beginnings of the disintegration of the kingdom.² After the war, Asante faced not only internal conflict within the kingdom, but also dynastic problems as well.³ The internal revolts within the kingdom also affected trade as Freeman noted:

...Ashanti in the days of its power was one of the most important commercial centres in West Africa. It was the focus of a most extensive traffic with the Muslem nations of the far north and east. From Timbuktu and Jenne, from the land of the Tawareks, from Sokotu, Kano, Kachina and other cities, from Bornu by Lake Chad, even from the shores of the Mediterranean the caravans wended their way to the great negro Kingdom where the precious guru or kola

2. For the conflict within Asante after the war of 1873-1874, see Kimble, Political History, 274-79; R. E. Dumett, "British Official Attitudes," 152-53; further correspondence regarding the affairs of the Gold Coast, 1884, C-4052, 1875, C-1140, 1883, C-3687 and W. Tordoff, Ashanti under the Prempehs, 1888-1935 (Oxford, 1965).

3. Kimble, Political History, 274-75; see also Tordoff, Ashanti under the Prempehs, 1888-1935.

could be purchased. With these great African nations Kumasi was brought into communication by means of two caravan roads; one leading from the east from Bornu and Hausa and passing through Borugu and Yendi (the capital of Dagomba) to Salaga and Kantampo; the other from Timbuktu passing through Massina, Sofara, Jelasu, Kong and Bontuku to Kantampo. There appears to have been a second Timbuktu road which, starting from Kabara, the port of Timbuktu passed through Banya-garra, Mandoli, and Wurga-duku, (the capital of Moshi or Mosi) and joined the eastern road at Yendi; while at Sokoto or Kachina the same road was joined by the great caravan road from Tripoli. 4

The disorganization of Asante which followed the defeat of 1874 brought about a great decline in the volume of this trade.

An event of great significance following the 1873-1874 war which affected the economic life of the country was the abolition of slave dealing and the emancipation of slaves in the Gold Coast Protectorate.⁵ Slaves were "property," in a sense, and as a lot of money had been invested in them, in a way they represented capital; they were wealth, they formed the basis of labour and production: they could be pawned, and when their owners

4. Freeman, Travels and Life, 477.

5. Kimble, Political History, 303-4.

died they could be passed on as part of the estate.

The economic implications of this Act were to have far-reaching consequences. For the people of the Gold Coast, the Act meant: finding new means of investment; providing security for debts; and securing a source of labour that the extended family could not fulfill.

The accounts of the prospects of the potential mineral wealth reported by returning British soldiers from the Asante War lured prospectors to the country,⁶ with the first European efforts following the Asante to develop gold mining with European capital being undertaken by Pierre Bonnat in 1877. Bonnat had been captured in Ho in 1869 when Asante invaded the Volta region and had been taken with the Missionaries Ramseyer and Kuhne^{to Kumasi}. He was released in 1874. On his return to Europe a French mining engineer Bazin, who had read his adventures in L'Explorateur, approached him with the idea of prospecting gold on the Gold Coast. As a result the Société

6. Junner, Gold on the Gold Coast, 5-10; Kimble, Political History, 15-25; E. D. Morrell, Affairs of West Africa (London, 1902), 367-70; Dickson, Historical Geography, 179-91; S. D. Neumark, Foreign Trade and Economic Development in Africa: a Historical Perspective (Stanford, 1964), 95-96; Dumett, "Official British Attitudes," 54-71; Francis Hart, The Gold Coast, Its Wealth and Health (London, 1904), 24-37.

des Mines d'Or l'Afrique Occidental was founded and began prospecting for gold at Awudua in April 1877.⁷

The number of mining companies formed on the Gold Coast after 1877 both by Africans and Europeans exhibited new interests in prospecting for gold in the country. Among the companies were: the African Gold Coast Company (1878), the Gold Coast Mining Company (1880), the Wassaw and Ahanta Gold Mines Syndicate (1880), Effuenta Gold Mining Co. (1880), Swanzy Estates and Mining Company (1882), the Wassaw (Gold Coast) Mining Company (1882), the Tarkwa (Tamsu) Gold Mining Company (1882), and the Ginnamon Bippo Gold Mine Ltd. (1887).⁸

The Wassaw and Ahanta Gold Mines Syndicate was undertaken by Africanus Horton in conjunction with Ferdinand Fitzgerald of the African Times.⁹ It has been estimated that 31 of the 109 different concessions registered at Cape Coast between 1878 and 1882 were held

7. Horton, West African Countries, 265; Kimble, Political History, 15.

8. Dickson, Historical Geography, 182-183; Dumett, "Official British Attitudes," 55-61; C-5620, Parl. Papers, 1889, LIV, Report on Gold Mines, 1889.

9. Kimble, Political History, 22.

by Horton.¹⁰ Other Africans who had mining concessions at this time were Joseph Dawson of Cape Coast at Tarkwa and J. E. Ellis, J. E. Biney and J. P. Brown at Obuasi.¹¹ In 1882 the Gold Coast Native Concession Purchasing Company was formed by F. C. Grant, J. F. Amissah, John Sarbah, James Brew, G. E. Eminsany and J. W. Sey.¹² Undoubtedly much of this acquisition of mining concessions by Africans was mere speculation. This kind of activity and the role of the new type of middleman who negotiated concessions between mining companies and chiefs must have played an important part in sustaining the waning fortunes of African merchants and the coastal "middle-class." Obviously, mining concessions (as were the timber and cocoa industries), which were linked with the acquisition of land, lay behind some of the political agitation of this period, especially the problem of the land legislation in the 1890's.¹³

10. Dumett, "Official British Attitudes." 61.

11. Dickson, Historical Geography, 181.

12. Kimble, Political History, 22.

13. On the land question, see Kimble, Political History, 330-355.

Although the mining undertakings of the Africans failed because of the difficulty of raising capital, it is significant that Africans were responding and continuing to give leadership to economic development. It was not only African mining prospectors who lacked the financial resources and the technical and practical skills for carrying on a successful mining operation. As there was no rush to bid for shares in gold mining companies and there was no abundance of knowledgeable mining personnel, a large number of the earlier companies failed.¹⁴ However, because of the advantages European mining companies had in raising capital they were able virtually to exclude Africans from the field.¹⁵

Most of the pioneering mining companies had failed by 1885 and the surviving companies had not yet installed enough crushing machinery to produce gold on a significant scale. Although there was a rise in gold exports from 1882 to 1888, the bulk of it came from Asante as

14. Dumett, "Official British Attitudes," 62.

15. Kimble, Political History, 22.

relations between them and their southern neighbours improved. It was not until 1889 that the mining companies began to export a large amount of the country's gold.¹⁶

The development of modern gold mining activities on the Gold Coast had a great effect on the country. The mining concession led to an increase in the value of land which consequently brought more wealth to some chiefs. Wealth was also accrued to African lawyers who often acted on behalf of the traditional authorities and the concessionaires.¹⁷

It was not only gold, but also rubber that were becoming export items in the 1880's.¹⁸ The trade in rubber was short-lived but it formed an important link between the last two decades of the nineteenth century

16. Dumett, "Official British Attitudes," 71.
The gold exports for this period were:

Year	Oz.	L	Year	Oz.	L
1880	9,129	32,865	1888	24,030	86,510
1881	12,567	45,241	1889	28,667	103,200
1882	17,097	61,552	1890	25,460	91,657
1883	14,565	52,435	1891	24,475	88,112
1884	18,385	66,188	1892	27,446	98,099
1885	24,995	89,981	1893	21,972	79,099
1886	20,749	74,829	1894	21,332	76,796
1887	22,549	81,168	1895	25,415	91,497

17. Kimble, Political History, 21.

18. Dummett, "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante," 79-101; Dickson, Historical Geography, 162-65; Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmer, 164-65.

when trade in palm oil was declining and the early years of the twentieth century when the cocoa industry became the mainstay of the Gold Coast economy. Between 1890-1905 the Gold Coast, which ranked fifth in the world production of rubber, was the leading exporter of the product in the British Empire.¹⁹ In the development of the rubber trade African merchants, especially F. C. Grant and John Sarbah, played a key role.²⁰ Despite its short existence, the rubber trade was an important source of capital for the pioneering Akuapem cocoa farmers to purchase land for cocoa-growing in the 1890's.²¹ The trade in rubber was also a source of capital in Asante for investment in cocoa-growing.²² Polly Hill has observed that before 1900 cocoa had been planted as far north as Akuamdan, south of Takyiman. The cocoa seeds were supposed to have been brought there by Akuapems

19. Dumett, "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante," 79.

20. Dickson, Historical Geography, 162; Dumett, "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante," 81-82.

21. Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers, 164-65. Other sources of capital to buy land for cocoa farming were general trading in: salt, parrots, skins, and blankets from the north. Some of the Akwapem migrant farmers were people who had before 1900 travelled to Nigeria and other places in West Africa as traders and craftsmen. Ibid. 166.

22. Dumett, "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante," 101.

who were engaged in the rubber trade with the Nkoranza area.²³

The cocoa industry began to assume importance in the economic landscape of the country during the two decades of the nineteenth century, and by 1911 the Gold Coast was the world's leading exporter of cocoa.²⁴ The introduction of cocoa to Ghana dates back to 1857 when the Basel Missionaries imported it from Surinam²⁵ but it was not until a Ga black-smith, Tetteh Quashie, brought the crop from Fernando Po in 1879 that the crop began to take root.²⁶ Tetteh Quashie successfully cultivated the plant at Akuapem Mampong and local farmers eagerly bought his first harvest in 1883. Governor William Brandford Griffith also gave the cocoa industry import seeds from

23. See Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers, 165, 4n.

24. For the study on cocoa, see Polly Hill's classic studies, Gold Coast Cocoa-Farmer and Migrant Cocoa-Farmers; see also Dickson, Historical Geography, 165-71; Kimble, Political History, 33-40.

25. Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers, 170-71; Horton, West African Countries and People, 147.

26. Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers, 172-73; Dickson, Historical Geography, 166.

São Thomé, started a nursery at Aburi and supplied the seedlings to farmers.²⁷ By 1891 the Basel Missionaries were also selling and distributing cocoa seeds to their congregations and African growers.²⁸ The first recorded export of the crop was 121 lbs. in 1885 which fetched L6 1s. Thanks to the responsiveness of the African to cocoa farming and the encouragement offered by the Government and the Basel Mission, the cocoa industry grew rapidly and by 1895 cocoa culture had spread to all parts of the then Gold Coast Protectorate.²⁹

The development of the cocoa industry was based on small-scale production. It is significant that the initial reception to this development came from the Akuapems who had responded early to Christianity and to the social change that it entailed. As Polly Hill observed:

Many Akwapim men already had highly expansible sets of wants, being aware, through education, travel and contact with others, of conditions in other parts of

27. Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers 173-74; Dickson, Historical Geography, 166.

28. Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers, 171; Kimble, Political History, 33-34.

29. Dickson, Historical Geography, 166.-

the world. Apart from the Akwapim traders and craftsmen. . . many of whom had originally (themselves or their forebears) been trained by the Basel Mission, there were labourers and carriers who sought jobs in connexion with the Ashanti wars, on the building from 1898 of the Sekondi railway, or in the expanding coastal towns. Ministers of religion, catechists, teachers, and prominent Christians generally, were among those most sensitive to the possibilities of the new crops and if the 'scholar-farmer' was sometimes derided, though usually only in public, his influence and example were profound. 30

The leadership and example of those who had already reacted favorably to the trade and economic change that had been taking place in the country were therefore crucial. Another writer commented:

. . . Clearly the decisive factor was the driving energy of this African class which had the wisdom to see in cocoa-production a new and promising source of wealth and profit. From the very beginning the backbone of the Gold Coast cocoa industry has been, not the simple tribal peasant, but in the real sense a 'middle' class, of traders and entrepreneurs. 31.

The export of timber and kola nuts also assumed some importance during the period after 1874. Overseas export of kola began modestly in 1867 when a small amount of it

30. Hill, Migrant Cocoa-Farmers, 168-9.

31. C. K. Meek, W. M. MacMillan, E. J. R. Hussey, Europe and West Africa (Oxford, 1940), 82.

was sent to Britain and by the 1880's the export was worth about L2,000. Kola was also exported to Lagos in considerable quantity after the 1870's.³² Timber began to feature in Gold Coast exports around 1887 and by 1894 it had become a major item of export.³³ It was the accelerated development of certain exports during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, especially those of cocoa and gold, that led to the "economic revolution" beginning in the 1890's.

The rapid economic development of the last decades of the nineteenth century was possible because of the earlier economic changes that followed the abolition of the Atlantic slave trade. The prohibition of the slave trade by various European powers during the early decades of the nineteenth century did not bring the slave trade to an end immediately. It continued surreptitiously well into the middle of the 1860's.

The impact of the interdiction of the slave trade upon the Gold Coast was significant. As the slave trade

32. Dickson, Historical Geography, 151-53.

33. Ibid., 176.

had made inroads into the country's economy its stoppage called for serious adjustments for Africans and Europeans involved in the trade. The end of the slave trade upset the pre-1807 economic arrangements. For the states which furnished the slaves and the brokers for the trade; and those who had provided services pertaining to the trade such as supplying food for the long voyage across the Atlantic, it meant a loss of income. The loss of profits from the diminution of the slave trade also reduced the capacity of the coastal rulers to defend themselves against Asante aggression and led to an increasing dependence on European nations on the coast for protection.

The profits accrued to the Gold Coast rulers, especially the coastal chiefs, and customary presents they had received from European traders had, in part, enabled them to distribute wealth among their people and to fulfill customary and social obligations. With the bulk of the trade that enabled the rulers to fulfill this role removed the standing of the chiefs began to decline. For Asante, however, the loss of wealth from abolition was by no means disastrous. The demand for

Asante kola allowed her to establish alternate markets north in lieu of the abolished trade. Furthermore, Asante gold found a ready market on the coast.

Abolition brought about a strong need to find substitutes for the slave trade, and Europeans endeavoured to encourage the export of old staples like gold and ivory as well as the production of agricultural goods for the overseas trade. Despite efforts to foster the exports of natural produce of the country the disruption caused by local wars, the lack of enthusiastic response from local people, the half-hearted efforts of Europeans to cultivate plantations, and the high duties imposed on African produce made economic change difficult.

By 1830 not much progress had been made on the Gold Coast towards changing the economy from one based primarily on the sale of slaves to one based on natural produce. Often it was alleged that the slow progress of economic change was due to the laziness of the people, but any transformation in the economic lives of the people could only be achieved through some changes in the social and cultural outlook of the people. It seemed to outside

observers that a lot of free time was not employed in actual labour, but other obligations in the society like religious and funeral observances took up some of the time when the people were not actually engaged in work.

A new era of trade and economic change began in 1830 under the administration of George Maclean. The peace treaty that the Governor concluded with Asante and justice he dispensed ushered in an era of peace and tranquility conducive for trade. The Maclean period marked a key period of economic development and was undoubtedly the most prosperous period of trade up to 1874.

By the time of the Presidency of Maclean, palm oil had become a staple export of the Gold Coast; it was the desire to control the eastern region (Akuapem and Krobo) which produced the bulk of the crop which led to a conflict between the English and the Danish authorities on the Gold Coast. Furthermore, the development of the palm oil trade increasingly led to the alienation of land when the people of Krobo began to seek more land outside their home land for the cultivation of palm oil.

It is highly possible that there may have been a time in the history of the Gold Coast when the sale or alienation of land was rare, but the trade and economic change of the nineteenth century had a devastating impact on the customary land tenure. Prior to the commercialization of agriculture in the nineteenth century, farming had been based on shifting cultivation and land rotation. The cultivation of products like palm and cocoa which continued to yield crops for years initiated permanent cultivation and affected the traditional concept of usufruct. Commercial agriculture thus resulted in an indefinite appropriation of such land planted with commercial trees. Economic development accelerated the process of land alienation which had begun early in the nineteenth century. The sale of land was further intensified during the last decades of the nineteenth century by the mining and cocoa industries.

The period of prosperity and progress in trade under Maclean also saw the rise of an African merchant class who traded on its own account and received credit directly from European firms abroad. In addition to

these merchants, a number of Africans coming out of schools established by the Methodist Missionary Society also sought occupations connected with trade. The work done by the Methodist and the Basel Mission Societies in education and economic advancement of the people beginning in the Maclean period was significant for economic progress.

That trade and economic changes could take place during this period was in a large measure due to institutional changes in Gold Coast society. By 1850 the African merchants had begun to eclipse the traditional rulers and chiefs in wealth and influence and had assumed a role in Gold Coast society compatible with their wealth and influence. The fortunes of the African merchants began to decline in the 1860's because of the prevailing system of credit, conflict on the Gold Coast, and partially because of social obligations and the standard of living expected of people of their status. A large number of these African merchants went bankrupt during the 1860's. It is significant that the declining fortunes of the African merchants coincided with the political activities

of the Fanti Confederation. Although the organization had the support of most educated people on the Gold Coast, much of the local support came from people who had experienced some difficulty in trade. This is not to deny other legitimate grievances that the greater degree of British potential presence in the country entailed. Although African merchants on the Gold Coast recovered their fortunes after 1874 through the rubber trade and gold mining activities, the trading practices of the 1890's which squeezed them out in favor of large oligopolies among European firms, would force African merchants into further political activities.

Much of the country's economic progress between 1850-1874 was hard-won and during this period some of the problems of economic development were clearly visible. For a rapid economic development to take place, problems like the lack of uniform currency, banks, labour and roads had to be solved. Yet, despite these problems and often the slow progress of development, in 1874 the process of trade and economic change on the Gold Coast reflected important and far-reaching economic advancement. By this

time the Gold Coast had made a transition from a trade based on slaves to that based on the natural produce of the country; its resources and labour were increasingly being commercialized; much of the leadership for commercial development had come from Africans; social and cultural change had followed economic change, and the livelihood of the people was increasingly coming to depend upon the growing external trade as well as the internal one. After 1874 the Gold Coast was indeed entering the modern economy.

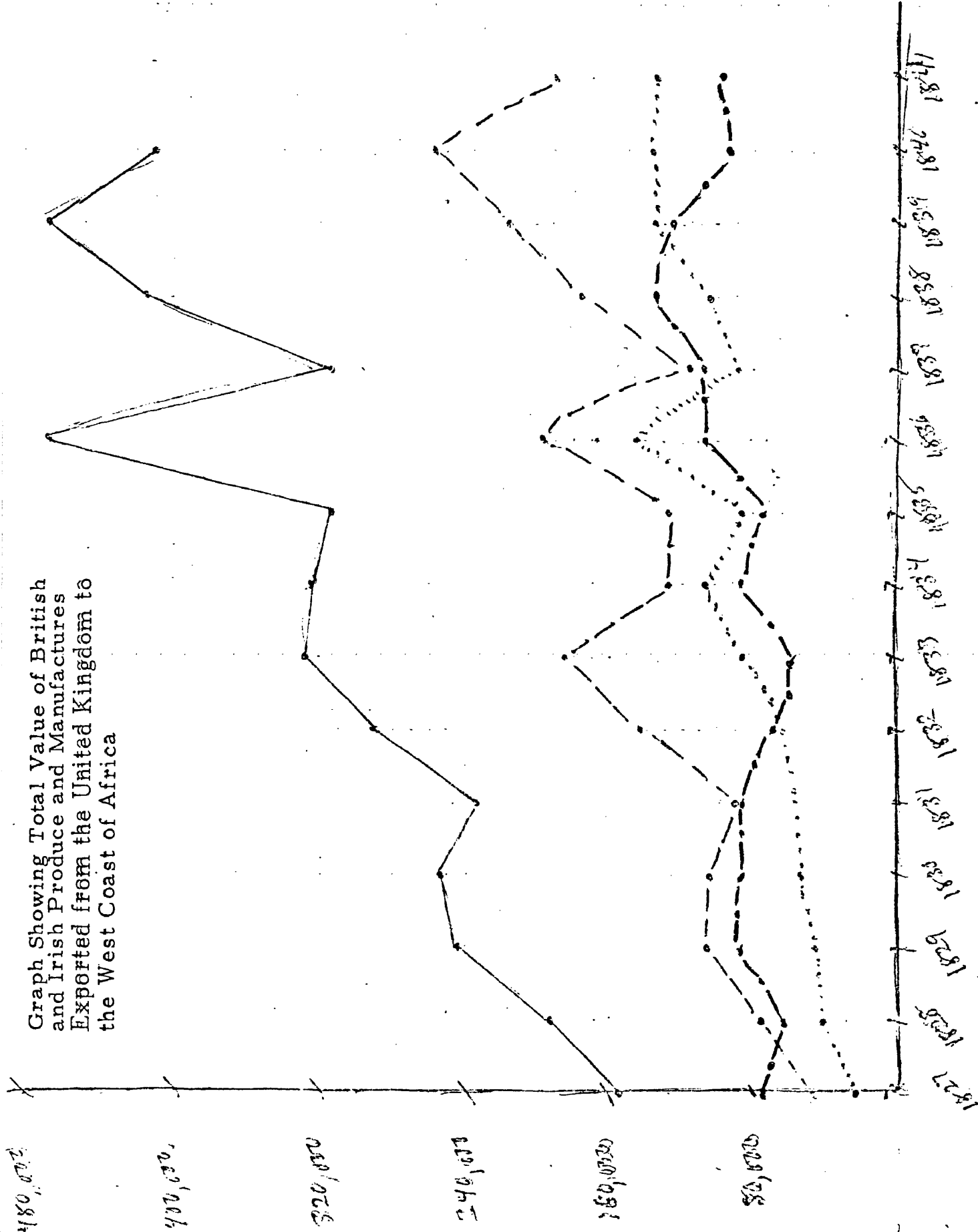
APPENDIXES

Total Declared Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported from the United Kingdom
to the West Coast of Africa

	Senegal and the coast from Morocco to the River Gambia exclusive	Sierra Leone and the coast from the River Gambia inclusive, to the River Mesurada	Windward coast from the River Mesurada to Cape Apollonia	Cape Coast Castle and the Gold Coast, from Cape Apollonia to the Rio Volta	Coast from Rio Volta to the Cape of Good Hope	Total
	L	L	L	L	L	L
1827	718	75,456	9,015	22,414	48,156	155,759
1828	--	62,100	12,009	41,985	75,358	191,452
1829	--	85,700	7,690	46,962	103,901	244,253
1830	--	87,144	9,648	52,889	102,442	252,123
1831	--	85,192	--	59,214	90,362	234,768
1832	650	69,255	12,011	65,291	142,854	290,061
1833	221	58,336	386	86,263	184,004	329,210
1834	795	86,431	3,657	107,627	127,973	326,483
1835	694	75,388	--	87,841	128,617	292,540
1836	7,337	108,978	--	142,063	208,808	467,186
1837	802	109,597	--	89,020	113,519	312,938
1838	2,904	134,470	--	102,685	173,295	413,354
1839	961	123,539	--	131,444	212,426	468,370
1840	1,770	93,640	--	136,877	259,821	492,128
1841	977	96,092	--	133,510	180,219	410,798

Source: Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

Graph Showing Total Value of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures Exported from the United Kingdom to the West Coast of Africa



— Total
--- Sierra Leone
... Cape Coast Castle
- . - Cape of Good Hope

Foreign Imports into the Gold Coast

	Beads		Salted		Coffee		Bugees		Cocoa		Cotton		Cowries		Iron		Rice		Sugar		Tea		Silk		Spirits		Tobacco		Wines	
	lbs	cwt	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs	lbs	pieces	of	India	cwt	tons	cwt	manuf.	in	not	unrefined	lbs	pieces	of	India	gals	gals	lbs	gals	gals	gals
1827	18	—	192	7,433	—	—	17,325	432	9	99	—	—	76	128	216	27,281	44,436	2,676												
1828	40	13	222	39,624	165	16,686	261	31	31	209	—	—	31	160	755	33,485	24,436	928												
1829	—	—	222	31,273	—	15,002	878	19	76	408	—	—	32	408	319	222,625	35,722	1,076												
1830	119	—	443	62,770	530	19,114	643	36	408	462	—	—	159	289	383	51,585	54,296	1,954												
1831	52	—	509	115,893	512	5,370	1,372	32	462	314	—	—	34	570	1,523	64,259	84,216	1,767												
1832	93	—	916	100,168	507	3,808	1,465	8	314	335	—	—	52	738	1,613	64,928	93,767	774												
1833	13	—	160	87,063	—	4,987	338	22	335	348	—	—	22	164	367	77,575	69,068	1,937												
1834	78	—	376	53,234	866	2,627	1,324	15	348	85	—	—	60	317	348	63,625	92,183	4,805												
1835	11	1	132	61,631	1,264	1,040	1,860	29	143	40	—	—	69	334	377	52,375	109,275	1,075												
1836	90	95	160	134,656	1,586	594	3,046	22	521	10	—	—	122	859	1,219	106,073	177,751	2,310												
1837	28	11	2,856	88,163	549	30	1,476	31	166	141	—	—	73	292	1,168	42,051	86,181	746												
1838	3	216	126	145,106	2,547	986	2,005	31	227	39	—	—	172	1,045	657	56,914	106,585	2,703												
1839	125	267	118	104,831	1,276	10	1,289	31	206	240	—	—	57	507	594	43,303	86,124	947												
1840	—	504	1,664	91,567	1,695	608	2,913	50	250	247	—	—	161	777	1,407	45,324	135,510	1,734												
1841	—	546	—	100,813	175	1,067	1,195	21	324	204	—	—	7	279	1,020	43,902	88,893	1,626												

Source: Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

Quantities and Declared Value of British and Irish Produce Imported to the Gold Coast

[illegible]

Source: Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

Quantities and Declared Value of British and Irish Produce Imported
into the Gold Coast

	Earthenware	Hardware	Iron	Glass of	Hats of	Lead	Leather Linen Manuf.
	of all sorts	& cutlery	& steel	all sorts	all sorts	& shot	entered by the yds
	pieces	L	cwt	L	tons	L	saddlery
					doz.	tons	L
							yards
							L
1827	4,050	49	11	79	63	797	181
1828	9,500	108	70	402	97	1,020	598
1829	20,944	226	44	269	151	1,575	294
1830	44,150	464	55	318	165	1,363	477
1831	37,540	385	87	543	141	1,383	557
1832	44,120	484	352	1,754	171	1,563	571
1833	48,536	478	184	886	245	2,339	336
1834	81,480	841	673	3,088	293	2,203	426
1835	51,678	487	129	668	216	2,135	468
1836	113,458	1,227	422	2,247	277	3,668	986
1837	39,570	465	149	842	112	1,381	422
1838	85,826	851	298	1,514	205	2,348	576
1839	101,230	1,197	456	2,282	329	4,009	557
1840	61,764	743	698	4,008	301	3,389	749
1841	103,140	1,140	1,085	5,363	256	2,893	572

Source: Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

Quantities and Declared Value of British and Irish Produce Imported
into the Gold Coast

	Woolen Hosiery & small wares		Empty Wooden casks & staves		Woolen by the Manufactured Yard		All Other Articles	
	L	No.	L	yds.	L		L	
1827	--	345	235	92	6	871		
1828	23	866	755	60	4	1,358		
1829	99	1,285	1,079	80	6	1,548		
1830	43	1,322	1,152	120	8	1,040		
1831	106	1,981	1,441	430	25	1,588		
1832	--	1,510	1,049	300	27	1,897		
1833	52	4,228	2,814	540	40	1,939		
1834	135	1,716	1,138	463	45	2,407		
1835	90	1,255	653	1,670	81	1,932		
1836	168	1,861	1,032	1,217	76	3,697		
1837	129	1,180	721	450	27	3,365		
1838	263	1,466	898	284	18	2,500		
1839	295	3,878	2,178	--	--	2,413		
1840	183	4,446	2,662	230	12	3,319		
1841	242	4,984	2,815	4,140	333	2,850		

Source: Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

Quantities and Declared Value of British and Irish Produce Imported
into the Gold Coast

		Apparel		Arms & ammunition		Beef & pork		Brass & copper		Cabinet & upholstry		Cotton manuf. entered by the yd.		Beer & ale in barrels		Butter & cheese		Cotton hosiery & small wares	
		L	L	L	L	L	L	cwt	L	L	L	yards	L	bls	L	cwt	L	L	L
1827	252		5,613	1	4	21	202	119		311,937	11,905	49	214	39	157	--			
1828	742		10,426	3	16	34	273	549		600,127	21,411	86	280	37	164	19			
1829	591		14,229	90	338	78	574	80		551,908	23,827	56	204	22	84	--			
1830	497		15,576	39	148	84	552	220		746,164	27,446	103	486	33	127	78			
1831	765		16,508	5	17	228	1,492	119		765,820	29,195	110	330	37	168	4			
1832	990		13,922	17	82	371	2,050	105		922,897	34,049	85	258	41	178	148			
1833	841		22,655	20	95	413	2,865	99		1,562,749	45,685	63	217	28	112	145			
1834	629		21,538	51	183	564	3,312	168		2,411,053	66,743	109	319	66	253	141			
1835	554		18,331	23	85	812	4,809	63		1,558,397	53,774	94	328	40	145	385			
1836	796		28,572	37	113	1,331	8,096	527		2,461,547	84,222	170	476	63	288	621			
1837	536		16,095	26	120	849	4,857	247		1,733,546	55,660	92	316	41	200	222			
1838	919		20,683	28	96	1,380	6,987	368		1,991,487	58,119	165	379	65	308	251			
1839	570		18,101	4	15	1,520	8,033	75		2,772,481	85,678	199	491	44	203	614			
1840	1,149		18,956	35	155	1,959	10,503	340		2,932,338	84,705	197	565	54	252	752			
1841	740		24,298	9	44	2,423	13,343	375		3,004,871	73,606	146	376	36	171	444			

Source: Parl. Papers, 1842, XII, Appendix.

Imports* 1850-1863: Total Value in Is

Manch. goods	Spirits & wine	Hdware	Provs.	Beads	Gunpder	Perfume	Earthenware	Wearing apparel	Cigars & tobacco	Sundries	Guns
1850 40,960	7,142	4,733	2,942	5,060	8,256	848	2,061	803	4,599	11,252	no rt.
1851 28,360	15,060	5,085	2,360	5,325	12,895	1,036	1,200	625	5,710	7,226	no rt.
1852 14,000	17,000	3,760	3,610	4,880	12,280	430	240	450	6,440	2,615	5,000
1853 16,000	16,580	6,000	3,320	3,220	3,660	150	300	no rt.	7,100	3,670	no rt.
1854 38,000	21,200	8,500	3,000	6,600	13,400	630	560	490	11,600	3,220	no rt.
1855 68,187	11,383	16,746	1,981	4,034	7,027	961	2,268	1,051	5,445	3,349	no rt.
1856 30,887	36,114	4,918	no rt.	6,179	8,580	no rt.	614	no rt.	9,781	no rt.	no rt.
1857 36,839	24,902	2,345	6,056	2,083	7,531	no rt.	no rt.	no rt.	7,616	no rt.	2,125
1858 42,050	29,175	3,453	no rt.	2,563	8,074	no rt.	no rt.	no rt.	3,828	no rt.	2,471
1859 43,060	29,139	5,839	no rt.	2,910	5,506	no rt.	no rt.	no rt.	7,473	no rt.	1,581
1860 35,089	31,854	5,491	3,235	1,497	6,873	no rt.	no rt.	no rt.	9,326	no rt.	2,129
1861 74,629	39,991	6,924	no rt.	1,005	9,406	no rt.	no rt.	no rt.	6,924	no rt.	2,660
1862 68,000	40,000	11,800	no rt.	no rt.	5,400	no rt.	no rt.	no rt.	7,500	no rt.	3,200
1863 26,000	18,773	14,840	no rt.	no rt.	2,049	no rt.	no rt.	no rt.	6,314	no rt.	2,139

*The table covers only the important imports for the period 1850-1863. Import figures for 1864-1867 are lacking. Figures for 1868-1874 are broken down in headings that do not easily fit into this chart, but the important imports are given in Chapter V.

Source: Blue Books and C.O.442/10-42.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY ARCHIVAL SOURCES

Public Record Office, London

- T.70 (African Companies)
 Volumes 35, 36, 40, 41, 42, 149, 150, 154 and
 1,584-1,606. (1799-1820)
- C.O.96 (Gold Coast, Original Correspondence)
 Volumes 2-114 (1843-1874)
- C.O.97 (Gold Coast: Acts)
 Volumes 1 and 2
- C.O.98 (Sessional Papers)
 Volumes 1A, 1B and 2.
- C.O.100 Blue Books of Statistics
 Volumes 2-23 (1843-1872)
- C.O.267 (Sierra Leone, Original Correspondence)
 Volumes 55-183 (1821-1843)
- C.O.268 (Letters, Instructions etc.)
 Volumes 21-39 (1824-1843)
- Customs 4 (Ledgers of Imports)
 Volumes 5-65 (1809-1869)
- Customs 10 (Ledgers of Exports)
 Volumes 1-72 (1809-1874)
- C.O.442 Colonial Statistical Tables,
 Volumes 2-42 (1834-1868)

Ghana National Archives

- E.C.6/2 Digest of Basel
 Mission Archives on Ghana (1828-1851) Manuscripts
- E.C.6/3 Digest of Articles on Ghana in the Basel Mission
 Periodicals 1828-1851.

E.C.6/15 1858-1868 Cocoa Cultivation in Ghana

S.C.1 Blankson Papers

S.C.2 Bennerman Papers

S.C.3 Cape Coast Historical Society Papers

S.C.4 Freeman Family Papers

S.C.5 Vroom Papers

S.C.6 Sarbah Papers

S.C.7 Gharthey Papers

S.C.8 Schedule of Ocancey Trading Papers

S.C.13 Schedule of J.H. Caesar's Trading Papers

Balme Library, University of Ghana

Furley Collection. Transcript of Dutch material from the State Archives, The Hague, especially Archief van het Ministerie van Kolonien 1814-1849.

Basel Mission Archives

Correspondence and reports to and from Ghana 1828-1874

Heidenbote "The Heathens' Messenger" contains sentimental information for the Swiss and German Missions' friends.

Jahresbericht (Yearly Report) Compact report and information about the fields and problems-- statistics about home activity, field workers, native cooperators, institutions and financial situation.

Missionsmagazin Contains reports and essays on travels, special problems, etc.

Methodist Missionary Archives, London

Five boxes, 1835-1876 Gold Coast Correspondence

Rigsarkivet, Copenhagen

Guineisk Journal 1776-1850 (12 volumes)

Sager til Guineisk Journal 1776-1850

General toldkammer og Kommerce Kontor 1816-1841 Optegnelser
og Akter til Brog for forkelliger Kommissioner
til Undersogelse af Forhaldene in Guinea 1816

Akter og Materialier Vedkommde den Guineiske Kommision
af 9 January 1833.

COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS

Blake, J. W. Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560.
2 vols. London, 1942.

Carstensen, Edward. Guvernør Edward Carstensen's Indberet-
ninger fra Guinea 1842-1850. Kobenhavn, 1964.

Crone, C. R. ed. The Voyages of Cadamosto and Other
Documents. London, 1937.

Crooks, J. J. Records Relating to the Gold Coast
Settlements, 1750-1874. Dublin, 1923.

Dennan, E. Documents Illustrative of the History of
the Slave Trade to America 4 vols. Washington,
D.C., 1930 ff.

Metcalfe, G. E. Great Britain and Ghana, Documents of
Ghana History, 1807-1957. Ghana, 1964.

Newbury, C. W. British Policy towards West Africa,
Select Documents, 1786-1874. Oxford, 1965.

Wolfson, F. Pageant of Ghana. London, 1958.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

- 1816 VII Report of Commission of Inquiry into the African Forts.
- 1817 VI Report from the Committee on African Forts.
- 1826-1827 Report of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of the Colony of Sierra Leone.
- 1831-1832 XXXIV Quantity of Palm Oil Imported into the U.K. 1817-1831.
- 1842 XI Select Committee of Inquiry into the State of British Possessions on the West Coast of Africa. Report and Evidence.
- 1842 XII Appendix and Index
- 1844-1845 XLVI Quantity of Palm Oil annually imported into the U.K. from Western Africa 1790-1844.
- 1852-1853 LXV Further Correspondence.
- 1854-1855 XXXVI Further Correspondence.
- 1864 V Select Committee on the West African Settlements, Report and Evidence.
- 1882 LXVI Statistical Abstract 1854-1880.
- 1882 LXVI Further Correspondence
- 1883 XLVIII Further Correspondence
- 1884 LVI Further Correspondence

EARLY PUBLISHED WORKS

- Adams, Captain John. Remarks on the Country Extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo, including Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants. London, 1823.
- Allen, Marcus. The Gold Coast or, a Cruise in West Africa. London, 1874.

- Bandinel, James B. Some Accounts of the Trade in Slaves from Africa as Connected with Europe and America. London, 1842.
- Barbot, J. "A Description of the Coasts of North and South Guinea." Vol. V. London, 1732.
- Barth, H. Travels and Discoveries in Central Africa. London, 1857.
- Beecham, John. Ashantee and the Gold Coast. London, 1841.
- Binger, L. G. Du Niger au Golfe de Guinee. 2 vols. 2 vols. Paris, 1892.
- Bosman, William. A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea. London, 1705.
- Bowdich, Thomas Edward. The British and French Expeditions to Teembo, with Remarks on Civilization in Africa. Paris, 1821.
- _____. Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee. London, 1819.
- Bridge, Horatio. Journal of an African Cruiser. London, 1845.
- Canot, T. Captain Canot: or, Twenty Years of an African Slaver. London, 1854.
- Cruikshank, Brodie. Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa. 2 vols. London, 1853.
- Dupuis, Joseph. Journal of a Residence in Ashantee. 2 vols. London, 1824. 2nd edition edited with notes and an introduction by W. E. F. Ward, London, 1966.
- Forbes, Lieutenant, R. N. African Blockade. London, 1849.
- Freeman, T. B. Journal of Two Visits to the Kingdom of Ashanti in Western Africa. London, 1843.

Gordon, Charles Alexander. Life on the Gold Coast.
London, 1874.

Henty, George Alfred. The March to Coomassie. London,
1874.

Holman, James. Travels in Madeira, Sierra Leone,
Teneriffee, St. Jago, Cape Coast, Fernando Po,
Princess Island. London, 1840.

Horton, J. Africanus. Political Economy of British West
Africa. London, 1865.

_____ West African Countries and Peoples. London, 1868.

_____ Letters on the Political Condition of the Gold Coast.
London, 1870.

Huntley, H. Seven Years' Service on the Slave Coast of
Western Africa. 2 vols. London, 1850.

Hutton, William. A Voyage to Africa. London, 1821.

Jackson, J. G. An Account of Timbuctoo and Housa. London,
1820.

Labarthe, P. Voyage a la Cote de Guinee. Paris, 1803.

Lee, R. Stories of Strange Lands. London, 1835.

Leonard, Peter. Records of a Voyage to the Western Coast
of Africa. Edinburgh, 1833.

McQueen, James. A Geographical Survey of Africa. London,
1840.

Mathieson, W. L. Great Britain and the Slave Trade 1839-
1865. London, 1929.

Maurice, J. F. The Ashantee War. London, 1874.

Meredith, Henry. An Account of the Gold Coast of Africa.
London, 1812.

Monrad, Hans C. Bidrag til en Skildrig af Guinea-Kysten
og dens Indbyggere 1805-1809. Kobenhavn, 1822.

Nagtglas, C. J. M. What Must the Netherlands Do with Her
Settlements on the Coast of Guinea. Trans. London,
1864.

Reade, W. The African Sketch-Book. 2 vols. London, 1873.

_____ The Story of the Ashantee Campaign. London, 1874.

Ricketts, H. I. Narrative of the Ashantee War. London, 1831.

Romer, Ludvig F. Tilforladelig Efterretning om Nogotien
paa Kysten Guinea. Kobenhavn, 1750.

Smith, Joseph. Trade and Travels in the Gulph of Guinea,
Western Africa, with an Account of the Manners, Customs,
and Religion of the Inhabitants. London, 1751.

Stanley, H. M. Coomassie and Magdala. London, 1874.

Thomas, C. W. Adventures and Observations on the West
Coast of Africa and Its Islands. London, 1864.

Tilleman, Eric. En Liden Enfoldig Beretning om det
Landskab Guinea. Kobenhavn, 1697.

Travassos Valdez, Francisco. Six Years of a Traveller's
Life in Western Africa. Vol. I. London, 1861.

Wilson, J. Leighton (Rev.). Eighteen Years as a Missionary
to Africa: Western Africa Its History, Condition
and Prospects. London, 1856.

Whitford, John. Trading Life in Western and Central
Africa. Liverpool, 1877.

LATER PUBLISHED WORKS

Ade Ajayi, J. F. and Espie, Ian, eds. A Thousand Years
of West African History. Ibadan, 1965.

- Akuffo, Bennett. Ahemfi Adesua, Akanfo Amamere. Akropong, 1950.
- Arhin, Kwame. ed. Ashanti Northeast. Legon, 1970.
- Baeta, C. G. Prophetism in Ghana. London, 1962.
- Balmer, W. T. A History of the Akan Peoples of the Gold Coast. London, 1925.
- Bartels, F. L. The Roots of Ghana Methodism. Cambridge, 1965.
- Bauer, P. T. and Yamey, B. S. The Economics of Under-Developed Countries. London, 1957.
- Belshaw, C. S. Traditional Markets and Modern Exchange. New York, 1965.
- Bennett, Norman and Grooks, George E., Jr. eds. New England Merchants in Africa. Boston University, 1968.
- Berry, B. J. L. Geography of Market Centres and Retail Distribution. New York, 1967.
- Blake, John W. European Beginnings in West Africa, 1450-1560. London, 1937.
- Bohannon, Paul and Dalton, George. eds. Markets in Africa. Northwestern African Studies, 9. Evanston, 1963.
- Bovill, E. W. The Golden Trade of the Moors. Oxford, 1958.
- Boxer, C. R. The Portuguese Seabourne Empire: 1415-1825. New York, 1969.
- Brooks, George E., Jr. Yankee Traders, Old Coasters and African Middlemen a History of American Legitimate Trade with West Africa in the Nineteenth Century. Boston, 1970.
- Brown, E. J. P. The Gold Coast and Asianti Reader. 2 vols. London, 1929.

- Burton, R. F. and Cameron, V. L. To the Gold Coast for Gold. London, 1883.
- Busia, K. A. The Position of the Chief in the Modern Political Systems of Ashanti. London, 1951.
- Casely-Hayford, J. E. Gold Coast Native Institutions. London, 1903.
- Chalmers, R. A History of Currency in the British Colonies. London, 1893.
- Claridge, William W. A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti. 2 vols. London, 1918.
- Clerk, N. T. A Short Centenary Sketch. The Settlement of the West Indian Immigrants on the Gold Coast 1843-1943. Accra, 1943.
- Cline, Walter. Mining and Metallurgy in Negro Africa. Mensha, 1937.
- Collier, Sir G. R. West African Sketches; Comprised from the Reports of Sir G. R. Collier, Sir Charles MacCarthy and Other Official Sources 1824. Legon, 1967.
- Coombs, Douglas. The Gold Coast, Britain and the Netherlands 1850-1874. London, 1963.
- Coolhas, W. Ph. A Critical Survey of Studies on Dutch Colonial History. Gravenhage, 1960.
- Curtin, Philip D. The Image of Africa. Madison, 1964.
- _____ ed. Africa Remembered. Madison, 1967.
- _____ The Atlantic Slave Trade: a Census. Madison, 1969.
- Daaku, Kwame Yeboa. Oral Traditions of Assin-Twifo. Institute of African Studies. Legon, 1969.
- _____ Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast 1600 to 1720. Oxford, 1970.

- Daendels, H. W. The Correspondence of Daendels. Legon, 1964.
- Deane, P. and Cole, W. A. British Economic Growth 1688-1959. Cambridge, 1964.
- Davies, K. G. The Royal African Company. London, 1957.
- Debrunner, H. W. A Church between Colonial Powers. A Study of the Church in Togo. London, 1965.
- _____ A History of Christianity in Ghana. Accra, 1967.
- Dickson, K. B. A Historical Geography of Ghana. Cambridge, 1969.
- Dike, K. O. Trade and Politics in the Niger Delta. Oxford, 1956.
- Douglas, Mary and Kaberry, Phyllis, M. Man in Africa. London, 1969.
- DuBois, W. E. B. The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1619-1870.
- Duncan, John. Travels in Western Africa in 1845 and 1846. 2 vols. London, 1847.
- Einzig, Paul. Primitive Money. London, 1949.
- Ellis, Alfred B. A History of the Gold Coast of West Africa. London, 1893.
- _____ West African Sketches. London, 1881.
- _____ The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast. London, 1887.
- _____ The Ewe-Speaking Peoples. London, 1890.

Fage, J. D. Ghana, a Historical Interpretation. Madison, 1961.

_____ A History of West Africa. Cambridge, 1969.

Field, M. J. Social Organization of the Ga People. London, 1940.

Forde, C. Daryll and Kaberry, P. M. eds. West African Kingdoms in the Nineteenth Century. London, 1967.

Foster, P. Education and Social Change in Ghana. London, 1965.

Frankel, S. H. Capital Investment in Africa, London, 1938.

Freeman, R. A. Travels and Life in Ashanti and Jamon. London, 1898.

Fuller, F. A Vanished Dynasty: Ashanti. London, 1921.

Gann, L. H. and Duigan, P. The History of Colonialism 1870-1914. Cambridge, 1969.

Garlick, P. C. African Traders in Kumasi. Mimeo. University College of Ghana, 1959.

Goody, Jack. Technology, Tradition and the State in Africa. Oxford, 1971.

Gould, P. R. The Development of Transportation Pattern in Ghana. Evanston, 1960.

Gray, J. R. and Birmingham, David. Pre-Colonial African Trade Essays on Trade in Central and East Africa before 1900. London, 1970.

Gros, Jules. Voyages, Aventures et Captivite de J. Bonnat chez les Achantis. Paris, 1884.

Hancock, W. K. Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs. 2 vols. London, 1942.

- Hargreaves, J. D. Prelude to the Partition of West Africa. London, 1963.
- Hart, F. The Gold Coast Its Wealth and Health. London, 1904.
- Hennessey, J. Pope. Verandah. London, 1964.
- Hill, Polly. The Gold Coast Cocoa-Farmer: a Preliminary Study. Cambridge, 1956.
- _____. Migrant Cocoa-Farmers of Southern Ghana. Cambridge, 1963.
- _____. Rural Capitalism in West Africa. Cambridge, 1970.
- Hodder, B. W. and Ukwu, U. I. Markets in West Africa. Ibadan, 1969.
- Hoselitz, Bert F. Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth. Chicago, 1960.
- Huber, Hugo. The Krobo: the Traditional Social and Religious Life of a West African People. St. Augustin, 1963.
- Imlah, Albert H. Economic Elements in the Pax Britannica. Cambridge, Mass. 1958.
- Johnson, Marion. Salaga Papers. 2 vols. Institute of African Studies. Legon, 1968.
- Junner, N. R. Gold in the Gold Coast. Colchester, 1935.
- Kimble, David. A Political History of Ghana 1850-1928. Oxford, 1963.
- Klemm, Herman. Elias Schrenk der Weg eines Evangelisten. Wuppertal, 1961.
- Knowles, L. C. A. The Economic Development of the British Overseas Empire. 2 vols. London, 1928.

Lawrence, A. W. Trade Castles and Forts of West Africa.
London, 1963.

Lewis, I. M. ed. Islam in Tropical Africa. London, 1966.

Lloyd, C. The Navy and the Slave Trade. London, 1949.

Manoukian, M. The Ewe-Speaking People of Togoland and the Gold Coast. London, 1952.

Martin, Eveline C. The British West African Settlements 1750-1821. London, 1927.

Meek, C. K. MacMillan, W. M., Hussey, E. J. R. Europe and West Africa. Oxford, 1940.

Meillassoux, Claude, ed. The Development of African Trade and Markets in West Africa. London, forthcoming.

Metcalf, G. E. Maclean of the Gold Coast. London, 1962.

Meyerowitz, Eva L. R. The Sacred State of the Akan.
London, 1951.

_____ The Akan of Ghana. London, 1958.

_____ Akan Traditions of Origin. London, 1950.

Morel, E. D. Affairs of West Africa. London, 1902.

MacDonald, George. The Gold Coast, Past and Present.
London, 1898.

McPhee, Allan. The Economic Revolution in British West Africa. London, 1926.

Neumark, S. D. Foreign Trade and Economic Development in Africa: a Historical Perspective. Stanford, 1964.

Newbury, Colin. W. The Western Slave Coast and Its Rulers.
Oxford, 1961.

Norregard, Georg. Danish Settlements in West Africa 1658-1850. trans. by Sigurd Mammen. Boston, 1966.

- Nukunya, G. K. Kinship and Marriage among the Anlo Ewe.
London, 1969.
- Oliver, Roland. The Middle Ages of African History.
Oxford, 1967.
- Oliver, Col. and Mitchell, R. E. Lt. Precis of Information
Concerning the Gold Coast Colony. London, 1887.
- Ollenu, N. A. Principles of Customary Land Law. London,
1962.
- Owusu, Maxwell. Uses and Abuses of Political Power: a
Case Study of Continuity and Change in the Politics of
Ghana. Chicago, 1970.
- Paden, John and Soga, E. W. eds. The African Experience.
Evanston, 1970.
- Perham, M. The Native Economies of Nigeria. London, 1946.
____ Mining Commerce and Finance in Nigeria. London, 1948.
- Peterson, John. Province of Freedom, London, 1969.
- Pim, Alan. Colonial Agricultural Production. London, 1946.
- Priestly, Margaret. West African Trade and Coast Society.
London, 1969.
- Ramseyer, F. A. and Kuhne, J. Four Years in Ashantee.
London, 1897.
- Rattray, R. S. Ashanti. Oxford, 1923.
____ Religion and Art in Ashanti. Oxford, 1927.
____ Ashanti Law and Constitution. London, 1929.
- Reindorf, Rev. Carl Christian. History of the Gold Coast
and Asante, 2nd ed. reprint. Accra, 1966.
- Rodney, Walter. A History of the Upper Guinea Coast.
Oxford, 1970.

- Rostow, Walter W. The Stages of Economic Growth. Cambridge, 1960.
- Sampson, M. J. Gold Coast Men of Affairs. London, 1937.
- Sarbah, J. M. Fanti Customary Laws. London, 1904.
- _____. Fanti National Constitution. London, 1906.
- Smith, Noel. The Presbyterian Church of Ghana. London, 1965.
- Southon, A. E. Gold Coast Methodism, the First Hundred Years 1835-1935. Cape Coast and London, 1934.
- Stevenson, Robert F. Population and Political Systems in Tropical Africa. New York, 1968.
- Sundstrom, Lars. The Guinea Trade. Oslo, 1966.
- Szereszewski, Robert. Structural Changes in the Economy of Ghana 1891-1911. London, 1966.
- The Basel Evangelical Mission on the Gold Coast Western Africa from 1828-1893. Christiansborg, 1894.
- Tordoff, W. Ashanti under the Prempehs, 1888-1935. Oxford, 1965.
- Turner, G. W. Eaton. A Short History of Ashanti Goldfields Corp., Ltd. 1897-1947. London, n.d.
- United Nations. Scope and Structure of Money Economies in Tropical Africa. New York, 1955.
- _____. Enlargement of the Exchange Economy in Tropical Africa. New York, 1954.
- Wanner, Von Gustaf Adolf. Basler Handels Gesellschaft 1859-1959. Basel, 1959.
- Ward, William E. F. History of Ghana. Rev. 3rd ed. (6th printing). London, 1966.

Welmer, C. W. The Native States of the Gold Coast Ahanta.
London, 1930.

Wilks, Ivor. The Northern Factor in Ashanti History.
Legon, 1961.

Williams, Eric. Capitalism and Slavery. Chapel Hill, 1944.

Wills, J. B. ed. Agriculture and Land Use in Ghana.
Oxford, 1962.

Wyndham, H. A. The Atlantic and Slavery. Oxford, 1935.

Zook, J. F. The Company of Royal Adventurers Trading to Africa. Washington D. C., 1919.

ARTICLES

Adams, C. D. "Activities of Danish Botanists in Guinea 1783-1850." T.H.S.G., III (1957), 30-46.

Adomako, Albert. "The History of Currency and Banking in Some West African Countries." E.B.G. VII, 4 (1963), 3-17.

Agbodeka, F. "The Fanti Confederacy, 1865-1869." T.H.S.G. VII (1965), 82-123.

Amenumey, D. E. K. "Geraldo de Lima: a Reappraisal." T.H.S.G. IX (1968), 65-78.

——— "The Extension of British Rule to Anlo (South-East Ghana), 1860-1890." J.A.H. IX, 1 (1968), 99-117.

Arhin, Kwame. "The Structure of Greater Ashanti (1700-1824), J.A.H. VIII, 1 (1967), 65-85.

——— "Diffuse Authority among the Coastal Fanti." G.N.Q. No. 9 (1966),

Asante, S. K. B. "Interests in Land in Customary Law of Ghana -- a New Appraisal" Yale Law Journal 74 (1964-1965), 848-85.

- Austen, R. A. "The Abolition of the Overseas Slave Trade: a Distorted Theme in West African History." J.H.S.N. V, 2 (1970), 257-73.
- Bartels, F. L. "Philip Quaake, 1741-1816." T.G.C.T.H.S. I, pt. v (1955),
- Benneh, George. "The Impact of Cocoa Cultivation on the Traditional Land Tenure of the Akan." G.J.S. VI, 1 (1970), 43-61.
- Bevin, H. J. "M. J. Bonnat: Trader and Mining Promoter." E.B.G. IV, 7 (1960), 1-12.
- "The Gold Coast Economy about 1880." T.G.C.T.H.S. II, pt. 2 (1956), 73-86.
- "Some Notes on Gold Coast Exports 1886-1913." E.B.G. IV, 1 (1960), 13-20.
- Boahen, A. Adu. "The Origins of the Akan." G.N.Q., No. 9 (1966), 3-10.
- Boaten, K. "Trade among the Asante of Ghana up to the end of the 18th Century." I.A.S.E.E. VII, 1 (1970), 33-46.
- Bohannon, Paul. "The Impact of Money on an African Subsistence Economy." J.E.H. XIX, 4 (1959).
- Brooks, G. E. Jr. "The Letter Book of Captain Edward Harrington." T.H.S.G. VI (1963), 71-77.
- Cameron, V. L. "The Gold Fields of West Africa." J.S.A. XXX (1882), 777-85.
- Cohen, A. "The Social Organization of Credit in a West African Cattle Market." Africa XXXV (1965).
- Cohen, David. "Agenda for African Economic History." J.E.H. (1971).
- Collins, E. "The Panic Element in Nineteenth-Century Relations with Ashanti." T.H.S.G. V, pt. 2 (1962), 79-144.

Daaku, Kwame Yeboa and Dantzig, Albert van. "An Annotated Dutch Map of 1629." G.N.Q. No. 9 (1966), 14-17.

Dantzig, Albert van. "Dutch Recruitment in Kumasi." G.N.Q. No. 8 (1966), 21-24.

Debrunner, H. "Notable Danish Chaplains on the Gold Coast." T.G.C.T.H.S. II, pt. 1 (1956), 13-29.

DeGraft-Johnson, J.C. "Some Historical Observations on Money and the West African Currency Board." E.B.G. XI, 2 (1967), 3-19.

_____ "Akan Land Tenure." T.G.C.T.H.S., I (1955), 99-103.

Dickson, K.B. "The Development of Road Transportation in Southern Ghana and Ashanti since 1850." T.H.S.G. V, pt. 1 (1961), 33-42.

Dumett, R. E. "The Rubber Trade of the Gold Coast and Asante in the Nineteenth Century: African Innovation and Responsiveness," J.A.H. XII, 1 (1971), 79-101.

Fage, J. D. "The Administration of George Maclean on the Gold Coast, 1830-1844." T.G.C.T.H.S. I, pt. 4 (1955), 104-20.

_____ "Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History." J.A.H. X, 3 (1969), 393-404.

_____ "Some Remarks on Beads and Trade in Lower Guinea in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." J.A.H. III, 2 (1962), 343-47.

Firth, Raymond. "Leadership and Economic Growth." I.S.S.J. XVI, 2 (1964).

Fraser, A. G. "The Cult of the Kwahu Hunter on the Question of Sasa Animals, especially the Elephant." G.C.R. IV, 2 (1928).

Garlick, Peter. "The French Trade de Nouveau." E.B.G. III, 2 (1959), 16-25.

"Gold Coast Mining Company Prospectus." London, 1825.

Grove, J. M. and Johansen, A. M. "The Historical Geography of the Volta Delta, Ghana, during the Period of Danish Influence." I.F.A.N. XXX, 4 (1968), 1,374-1,421.

Hair, P. E. H. "The Enslavement of Koelle's Informants." J.A.H. VI, 2 (1965), 193-203.

Harrop, Sylvia. "The Economy of the West African Coast in the Sixteenth Century." E.B.G. VIII, 3 and 4 (1964), 15-33 and 19-36.

Helm, Elijah. "The Cultivation of Cotton in West Africa." J.A.S. II, (1902-1903).

Hill, Polly. "Notes on Traditional Market Authority and Market Periodicity in West Africa." J.A.H. VII, 2 (1966), 295-311.

Hopkins, A. G. "Economic Imperialism in West Africa; 1880-1892." E.H.L. XXI (1968).

——— "Economic Aspects of Political Movements in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, 1918-1939." J.A.H. VII, 2 (1966).

Hoselitz, Bert. ed. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Agrarian Societies in Transition. May, 1956.

Hutchinson, W. F. "The Gold Trade of the Gold Coast: 1555-1825." E.D.M. III, 11 (1924), 115-18.

——— "The Gold Trade of the Gold Coast 1826 to 1890." E.D.M., XII, 13 (1924), 148-50.

——— "The Gold Trade of the Gold Coast 1826 to 1890." E.D.M. XIII, 4 (1925).

Hyman, Stephen. "Economic Forms in Pre-Colonial Ghana." J.E.H. XXX, 1 (1970), 33-50.

- Jeppesen, H. "Danske Plantageanlag po Guldkysten 1788-1850." Geografisk Tidsskrift, LXV (1966), 48-88.
- Johnson, Marion. "Migrants' Progress." B.G.G.A. IX, 2 (1964), 4-27.
- "The Cowrie Currencies in West Africa." J.A.H. XI, pt. I, No. 1 (1970), 17-49 and pt. II, No. 3, 331-53.
- "Ashanti East of the Volta." T.H.S.G. VIII (1965), 33-59.
- "The Ounce in Eighteenth Century West African Trade." J.A.H. VII, 2 (1966), 197-214.
- Kea, R. A. "Firearms and Warfare on the Gold and Slave Coasts from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries." J.A.H. XII, 2.
- Lawson, Rowena M. "The Development of the Lower Volta." E.B.G. VII, 4 (1963), 81-90.
- "The Growth of the Fishing Industry in Ghana." E.B.G. XI, 4 (1966), 3-24.
- "The Traditional Utilization of Labour in Agriculture on the Lower Volta, Ghana." E.B.G. XII, 1 (1968), 54-61.
- Lever, J. T. "Mulatto Influence on the Gold Coast in the Early Nineteenth Century: Jan Nieser of Elmina." A.H.S. III, 2 (1970).
- Manning, Patrick. "Slaves, Palm Oil and Political Power on the West African Coast." A.H.S. II, 2 (1969).
- Metcalfe, G. E. "After Maclean." T.H.G.C.T. I, pt. 5 (1955), 178-92.
- Morris, M.D. "Toward a Reinterpretation of Nineteenth Century Indian Economic History." J.E.H. XXIII (1963), 606-18.

Nathan, M. "The Dutch and the English on the Gold Coast in the Eighteenth Century." J.A.S. LIV (1904), 33-43.

Otutu Bagyire VI, Abiriwhene. "The Guans: a Preliminary Note." G.N.Q., No. 7 (1965).

Polanyi, K. "Sortings and 'Ounce Trade' in the West African Slave Trade." J.A.H. C, 3 (1964), 381-93.

Price, John Edward. "O'Aggri Beads." J.A.I. XII (1883), 64-68.

Priestly, Margaret. "The Ashanti Question and the British: Eighteenth Century Origins." J.A.H. II, 1 (1961), 35-59.

—— "Richard Brew: an Eighteenth Century Trader at Anomabu." T.H.S.G. IV, pt. I (1959), 29-46.

—— and Wilks, Ivor. "The Ashanti Kings in the Eighteenth Century: a Revised Chronology." J.A.H. I, 1 (1960), 83-96.

Rohdie, Sam. "The Gold Coast Cocoa Hold-up of 1930-1931." T.H.S.G. IX (1968), 105-18.

Rodney, Walter. "Gold and Slaves on the Gold Coast." T.H.S.G. X, (1969), 13-28.

Sheridan, R. B. "The Commercial and Financial Organization of the British Slave Trade, 1750-1807." E.H.R., 2nd Series, XI, 2 (1958), 249-63.

Swanzy, A. "On Trade in Western Africa with and without British Protection." J.S.A. XXII (1874), 478-88.

—— "Civilization and Progress on the Gold Coast of Africa, as Affected by European Conduct with the Native Inhabitants." J.S.A. XXIII (1875), 415-26.

Swanzy, H. "A Trading Family in the Nineteenth Century Gold Coast." T.G.C.T. II, pt. 2 (1956), 87-120.

- Vansina, J. "Long-Distance Trade-Routes in Central Africa."
J.A.H. III, 3 (1962), 375-90.
- White, Gavin, "Firearms in Africa, an Introduction."
J.A.H. XII, 2 (1971), 173-84.
- Wild, R. P. "Iron Disc Currency from Ashanti." Man,
No. 99 (1936), 78-79.
- Williams, J. B. "The Development of British Trade with
West Africa, 1750-1850." RS.Q. 50 (1935), 194-213.
- Wilks, Ivor. "The Rise of the Akwamu Empire, 1650-1710."
G.H.S.G. III, 2 (1957), 99-136.
- "A Medieval Trade Route from the Niger to the Gulf
of Guinea." J.A.H. III, 2 (1962), 337-41.
- "Aspects of Bureaucratisation in Ashanti in the
Nineteenth Century." J.A.H. VII, 2 (1966), 215-32.
- Wolfson, Freda. "A Price Agreement on the Gold Coast -
the Krobo Oil Boycott, 1858-1866." E.H.R. VI,
Series 2, 1 (1953-1954).

UNPUBLISHED THESES

- Amenumey, D. E. K. "The Ewe People and the Coming of
European Rule, 1850-1914." M.A. thesis, University
of London, 1964.
- Arhin, Kwame. "The Development of Atebubu and Kintampo
as market centres." Ph.D. thesis, University of
London, 1969.
- Brooks, George E. Jr. "American Legitimate Trade with
West Africa, 1789-1914." Ph.D. dissertation,
Boston University, 1962.
- Dalton, Heather. "The Development of the Gold Coast
under British Administration, 1874-1901." M.A.
thesis, University of London, 1957.

- Dumett, R. E. "British Official Attitudes in Relation to Economic Development in the Gold Coast, 1874-1905." Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1966.
- Feinberg, Harvey Michael. "Elmina, Ghana: a History of the Development and Relationship with the Dutch in the Eighteenth Century." Ph.D. dissertation, Boston University, 1969.
- Fynn, J. K. "Ashanti and Her Neighbors 1700-1807." Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1964.
- Graham, Charles Kwesi. "The Educational Experience of the Fanti Area of the Gold Coast (Ghana) in the 19th Century, a Study in Social Structure and Social Change." Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1968.
- Hopkins, A. G. "An Economic History of Lagos, 1880-1914." Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1964.
- James, P. G. "British Relations to the Gold Coast 1815-1850." M.A. thesis, University, of London 1935.
- Kwamena-Po, M. A. "Government and Politics in the Akwapem State." M.A. thesis, University of London, 1968.
- Postma, Johannes, "The Dutch Participation in the African Slave Trade; Slaving on the Guinea Coast 1675-1795." Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1970.
- Stilliard, N. H. "The Rise and Development of Legitimate Trade in Palm Oil with West Africa." M.A. thesis, University of Birmingham, 1938.
- Tenkorang, Sammy. "British Slave Trading Activities on the Gold and Slave Coasts in the 18th Century." M.A. thesis, University of London, 1964.
- Wolfson, Freda. "British Relations with the Gold Coast, 1843-1886." Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1949,

NEWSPAPERS

The African Times. 1862-1902. London.